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Love, Care, and Cure: Economies of Affect in a Zimbabwean Transnational Pentecostal Church



By: Admire Thonje

Supervised by: Dr Obvious Katsaura

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Development Studies) degree, Johannesburg, 2023.

DECLARATION

I declare that '**Love, Care, and Cure: Economies of Affect in a Zimbabwean Transnational Pentecostal church**' is my own unaided work. All citations and references used have been acknowledged accordingly. The study has adhered to ethics protocols under clearance number H19/08/39 from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical). It is submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at this or any other university.



.....

Admire Thonje

September, 2023

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother Lucia Mubaiwa and my late grandmother Ilet Shumirai Mugabe (*nee* Tonono). Although you both did not set foot in the halls that I did, and although you did not wear the garb worn by academic graduates, through your foresight, care and encouragement, you nonetheless stood much taller than I have, dreamt bigger than I could and had the selfless love to allow me to experience that which you could only imagine possible.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I initially meant to follow the typical style in presenting my acknowledgements. By typical style, I mean a presentation which entails doffing an imaginary hat to a list of people. After contemplation and some internal debates, I settled on a blend between a storyline with characters and the doffing of my imaginary hat.

My inquisitive eye developed late and, in many ways, stemmed from an experiential engagement with life as a migrant in Swaziland. In this sense, my most decisive journey began on 30 July 2007 when I left Zimbabwe for Swaziland via Mozambique. Upon learning of the opportunity to leave, my late grandmother spared the little money which she had and ensured that I received a contribution to my transport money. I have vivid recollections of the departure as it was an emotionally charged and straining event. The Zimbabwean economy had tipped over the precipice and all the hope for a decent start to post-college adult life was fast ebbing away for me and many others in my position. Yet an invitation from a very good friend served as my lifeline. In a dark dining section of our small house, my mother, sister, a cousin and I sat in a dimly lit room only able to see one another thanks to the strained glimmer of a candle. After a special supper of rice and baked beans, we prayed, locked up and walked the barely-lit streets from our home in Brady Barracks to town where I was to board a train from Bulawayo to Rutenga. At the station, my mother, sister, and cousin milled around until the train departed and that was it, I was off. I start with these characters because two of them stand out in my academic journey and in my life as well. To both Lucia Mubaiwa (mother) and Ilet Tonono (late maternal grandmother), few universities can dispense the care, love, and humility which you taught me. My sister Brilliant B. Mubaiwa, how can I ever repay you for putting me first when financial strains threatened to stall my progress or when an open and honest conversation without judgement was needed. You have been a sounding board and moral support forever.

Return to Zimbabwe from Swaziland unveiled a new chapter because of my decision to pursue further studies. It is in this "season" that I met Grascious Maviza (GNM). Even when my energy sapped, GNM would always insist that I enrol for a graduate degree. *Skeem sam*', you believed in me beyond any measure. Woven in the thesis text is the belief from you and your like, belief which I could not comprehend. At roughly the same time that I met Grascious, I met Dr Whitehead Zikhali who was just as supportive. There was never a dull moment even as you reminisced on

the difficulties of life as a PhD candidate. You were right, the journey was taxing but well worth it. After the Master's degree, Professor Amanda Hammar probed my ideas and egged me on to apply, at times extending support without my asking and again showing belief in my potential when I saw none.

There were other comrades whose support remains invaluable today. Ronald "Ras Chamie" Chaminuka, I probably owe you a new couch my brother. I certainly left a dent in at least one of yours.

In the earlier part of my PhD project, a baby girl – Nenyasha Adeline Shumirai– was born; a girl whom I got to see on occasions few and far between. In my absence, she received care and love from many people. To all involved in my often-protracted absence, thank you for allowing me to be selfish until now. The project bears my name but unmarked in every chapter are the sacrifices which you made. Henceforth, no more.

Life within the Wits community of thinkers was in many cases very quiet. Oftentimes, the journey was lonely and it only worsened under the COVID lockdowns and attendant restrictions. During these dull, quiet times my journey would have been cumbersome without the sounds that soothed me in times of stress and strain. I had personal conversations with 2 Plus 2's [Chex Tevengwa's] "Masimba", Gary Jules's "Falling awake" Jay Z's "On to the next", Nas's "Get down" and Don Maclean's "Vincent". When the COVID strict lockdown ceased, I benefitted from rich interactions with colleagues in the Development Studies department. Mercy Mupavayenda, your impassioned manifestos for feminist struggles were much appreciated. To the effervescent Wilma Chibonore, your openness and support were a blessing.

To Jefferson Ndimande, *andriezesthe* my brother. I finally can imagine myself holding my **** and be like J***s. Joseph Noko, thanks for the countless chats, the emojis showing disgust at my ideas and work, and the nuggets on financial management which perhaps will be used someday.

"Your study appears to draw a lot from affect" were oft-repeated words during the study's inception. At the time, affect was a very peripheral concept to me and yet my supervisor deftly and expertly guided me from ideation to the complete work which is contained here. Dr Katsaura, I must borrow from the Pentecostal lexicon and say, "you have a calling". Your engagement and counsel were invaluable. You were also very supportive beyond the supervisory role and that is

something which was evident from my arrival and our first meeting in your office. Although I was eager to talk about how I planned to work on my research proposal, the emphasis you made on finding out how I was doing made a mark on how our working relationship developed.

In the latter part of my fieldwork, I consulted with Nina Lewin whose input and guidance on ethical issues were far more enriching than any session which I had previously attended. Prior to her intervention, Maureen Nomagugu Ncube had played an invaluable role as my research assistant.

My sincere gratitude is forever extended to the Volkswagen Foundation which allowed me an opportunity and the freedom to pursue my ideas with no financial strain. Funding through the project ***Networked Religiocities: Transnational Urban Religious Flows in Africa*** as led by Dr Katsaura, sustained my resource needs throughout the research project. At a seminar in Ethiopia, I received invaluable support and encouragement from Prof. Brigitte Reinwald.

When I settled on a site for research, I was welcomed by some of the most wonderful people that I have met in South Africa. I could not mention them all by name, but some will self-identity through their words. Throughout the thesis, your voices will be heard speaking to "the guy who sits by the wall" or praying for "grace upon grace". To another choir member, I can assure you that "*angikakukhohlwa* after one month" and to another SIT member, "it is always good to see you too *mfundisi*". Unsurprisingly, a work on affect could not capture some of the more salient features of our engagements. I cannot present one hearty and infectious laugh from the second service or the share the rich conversation and savoury mutton from — without doubt — the most hospitable and open family that I met. Neither can I textualize with sufficient force the admonition directed at couples to "go to Jerusalem *hanti*". Your input, insights, chats, lunches, and braais were ingredients of the highest order. I hope that the dish which I have concocted does not dilute your riches.

Above all else, I thank God the Most High for life, peace, strength when I have been weak, torn and at my lowest, and the blessing of having my small voice expressed in text among far more impactful giants and luminaries.

Igama lakho malidunyiswe naphakade. Muri Mwari nhasi nokusingaperi. Amen.

ABSTRACT

This thesis attends to affective relations as they manifest in local and transnational settings. The thesis's empirical site is a Zimbabwe-founded Pentecostal church which is pseudonymised as Speak in Tongues (SIT). SIT has since grown to establish presence in South Africa, among a host of other countries. The research deployed a multi-sited ethnography whose spatial connections included Johannesburg, Pretoria, and the church headquarters in Gweru (Zimbabwe). Relying on purposively selected South African branches and their membership, ties among and ties between members and non-members are explored to reveal the formation of affective community, affective solidarity, and affective curatorship. These three affective relationalities emerge, solidify and in some instances disintegrate. In tracing the ties, the thesis highlights the productivity of affect. I argue that affective ties form and circulate in what I deem to be a relational economy of affect.

For a start, affective community in this thesis emerges as the product of deliberate efforts by the leadership as well as discursive tools which shape the ways in which church relationalities members relate among themselves, as well as between members and their leaders. This is, however, not a straightforward endeavour because members negotiate and resist some of the efforts and discourses. As a result of the varied intensities of affective ties, notions of affective community tend to yield micro-communities even within the church as a group. The result are different sensibilities of affective solidarity. Affective solidarity's variability is evident in how love is negotiated in the church as well as how members attend celebrations of love in weddings. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, some members require the intervention of fellow members and leaders to extend a form of affective pastoral care which is identified as 'affective curatorship'. Affective curatorship is extended to members as an extension of the church's care work. It is also extended to non-members as part of social outreach which ostensibly doubles as some form of proselytizing.

In exploring these dimensions, the study engages the literature on affective relations (Pedwell, 2014; Röttger-Rössler & Slaby, 2018; von Scheve, 2018) via Sara Ahmed's 'affect economies' to reveal the production of affective ties in social encounters that occur in the everyday. Contrary to scholarship which posits affect as a neutral and passive force which

only appears in moments of encounter, the study spotlights the active production of affective ties in social contact. In the process, it reveals a vibrant life — an affective economy where affects and emotions are produced, circulated and sustained both in and outside of the church — around the selected Pentecostal church. The vibrant life lies beyond sensationalised miracles that hog the public limelight. In addition, the study shows through affective ties that the distinction between sacred and profane is very shaky. Affective ties bind believers and non-believers as they share social spaces as well as materials.

Key terms: *Affect theory, economies of affect, affective community, affective solidarity, affective curatorship.*

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Chapter 1: Setting the agenda for affective ties in a Pentecostal church

1.1 Introduction

> I have been given a simple task this morning, hallelujah. That is, to collect an offering. Amen! Hallelujah! I don't know here in South Africa but back home when you are talking about the subject of money back home, that you should be ready to cast a few demons, amen. Because money is a *very sensitive subject*. Hallelujah! Whenever money is mentioned, people *begin to look down*, some they begin to *feel pressed* that they want to go to the loo. But brothers and sisters it is very important that we *get excited* when it comes to a time for giving to God, hallelujah. Because it is he who gives us power to gather wealth, amen. […] We as pastors we are very gifted *bathandekayo*[1] at manipulating the emotions. Hallelujah! We can manipulate the emotions right now and you begin to give rent money. But what is important is that you give what you have prepared to give — Pastor Mlilo (27.11.2019, SIT Johannesburg)

Pastor Mlilo's[2] words capture the transnationality of religion, as well as the imbrication of religion with money, society, and emotions. They highlight the recognition of emotion and affect in a Pentecostal church as he suggests that pastors can manipulate the laity into moving in certain ways. The manipulation is, however, not very profound in the form of some miraculous act or remarkable transformation. Rather, he gives the example of an ordinary act which comes in the form of giving. In this sense, within the church, the mundane is just as important as the spectacular. It is an arena where various forms of social interaction occur and more importantly, where the everyday interactions happen between religious adherents and the broader public.

This thesis attends to the mundane forms of moving and being moved which characterise transnational ties in a Pentecostal church. It follows on Pastor Mlilo's thinking to reveal the affective ties that both bind and fracture among members. As a loud and ubiquitous flavour of the Christian faith, Pentecostalism in urban settings is characterised by ordinary ties and social relatedness. I trace and locate these ties through affective economies in the entire thesis. I detail the meaning of affective

[1] Ndebele term for beloved.

[2] All names are pseudonyms unless stated otherwise. The use of pseudonyms follows ethical guidelines and requests by the church leadership itself.

economies in Chapter 3 of the thesis. However, for now, suffice to state that they are social, emotional, and affective relations which bind, fissure and fracture among and between members and non-members. In the thesis, they are traced through idealisations and discourses of love, through notions and performances of care as well as through curatorship.

My interest in Pentecostalism on the African continent stems from its marked presence and public image as both vibrant and at times, controversial. African Pentecostalism had an estimated 202.9 million adherents in 2015 (Wariboko, 2017). With continued increase, this means that Pentecostalism's presence in the public domain has become almost impossible to miss in places such as Zimbabwe and South Africa's major cities — especially in their inner cities. Not only is Pentecostalism present, but it is also loud, it is visible, and it occupies advertising copy in large billboards and ostentatious branding on small pamphlets handed out on the streets. The ubiquity highlights Pentecostalism's entwinement with social, economic, and political urban spaces. Migration has contributed to the religious kaleidoscope, creating creolised (Kankonde, 2018) and cosmopolitan (Wariboko, 2014) social formations. In this religious expanse, some African cities such as Lagos serve as Pentecostalism's global capitals (Katsaura, 2020). It, therefore, comes as little surprise that migration and religion highlight the vibrancy of African urban spaces in ways which include but are not limited to the economic or political. Their combination offers a glimpse into the spiritual energy and pulse of cities. For a city such as Johannesburg or *Egoli* (as it is colloquially known among locals and many Zimbabwean migrants), the confluence of migration and religion reveals that there is more to its economy than gold.

Instead of cities in their totality, I focus on networks of emotion and transnational affective ties in a Pentecostal church. My interest lies in the mundane affective ties which bind and fracture in transnational religious settings. Rather than merely tracing what migrants do, the study harnesses affect theory as a central conceptual tool, to explore what transnational Pentecostalism enables its adherents *to feel* and *to be*. In migrant religious, and social lives, the study finds contests for who gets and who receives love, compassion, care, loyalty, and friendship. I argue that these contests show how multiple solidarities are built, and multiple lines of fracture

emerge within a church which makes valid claims to a shared sense of cohesion and being united. In addition, despite claims to being a binding personality in the church, the church leader's power to bring people together under his authority is contested by some followers. Similarly, although there are claims to circulation and distribution of love, care, compassion, and friendship, community, and solidarity within the church and between its individual members, these are unstable within the church for members as well as between members and the leadership. Underpinning my argument, is economies of affect which I deploy as a conceptual lens.

Before I define economies of affect and how they perform binding and fracturing roles on ties within the church, I wish to mark out the affective terrain that animates Pentecostal practice in South Africa. South Africa itself is not exceptional. Rather, it is only presented here to establish a link with the church that formed the basis of the study. Pentecostalism in many other parts of the continent shares similar practices as described below in South Africa, the thesis' main site.

Much of the scholarship and public scrutiny of Pentecostal churching focuses on either their large or megachurches, or, on contentious acts and performances. Pentecostalism is associated with a break from the past (Engelke, 2010), innovation using media forms (de Witte, 2008, 2010) and new forms of community (Coleman, 2000; van Wyk, 2014). Some scholars situate the problem with studying African Pentecostalism in how its genesis is understood. For example, Kalu (2008, 2009) as well as Wariboko (2017) highlight a much richer history of Pentecostal presence on the African continent, and regret that many scholars perpetuate the notion that African Pentecostalism emerged in the twentieth century after Azusa Street expanded to the continent (see for example: Anderson, 2006; Robeck, 1992). It is claimed that after Azusa, indigenous expressions formed and evolved culminating in contemporary Pentecostalism's diverse expression. In South Africa, such diversity has evolved from the first wave to African Independent Churches, Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches (De Gruchy, 2005) and now a 'fourth wave' of Pentecostalism which Solomon Kgatle (2020) argues, is typified by dubious acts spearheaded by an equally dubious coterie of leaders. Among some of the dubious acts are resurrections

as happened on Sunday 24 February 2019[3] at Pastor Alph Lukau's Alleluia Ministries International Church (AMIC), snake and grass eating at Penuel Mguni and Lesego Daniel's churches respectively as well as ingestion of insecticide supposedly without harmful effect. For some scholars, the acts which are predominantly associated with migrant leaders and churches, impose social challenges in South Africa (Kgatle, 2017; Resane, 2020). White (2021), however, notes that 'members of the migrant churches see themselves as the anchors for mutual support and care' (p.7). The support and care hint at a vibrant network of social interaction that spans across borders while tying and disentangling connections with the local. Nonetheless, these observations gloss over the intricate ways in which churches, church leaders and the laity interact in much more dynamic ways which reveal loyalty, defection, emboldening and dissipating of affective ties. For example, with respect to the South Africa-based religious leaders mentioned above, the dominant public narrative is on how they have an influence over their gullible congregants. Such analyses are unhelpful as they neglect much more intricate ways in which leaders and the led engage in exchanges where loyalty, love, expressions and performances of care as well as reformulation of relations are always negotiated.

In the public gaze, Pentecostal practices move believers, move observers, and engage the changing social, economic, and political contexts[4]. Similarly, Pentecostalism as a social presence inspires the material and immaterial to converge. In other words, these various dimensions within and outside the church stir various emotions and affects such as hope, faith, ecstasy, conquest, and despair.

However, although hogging the public limelight, Pentecostalism is not all about miracles and bizarre acts especially in the everyday (see: Engelke, 2010; Gukurume, 2022). What **ordinarily** happens in religious organisations? How does the mundane manifest as emotional and affective ways of sociality especially in churches populated by migrants and existing in an environment often characterised by

[3] https://ewn.co.za/2019/02/25/dead-man-rising-pastor-and-mystery-of-man-raised-to-life-raises-serious-questions

[4] For example, referring to the resurrection at Alleluia Ministries, the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (CRL) issued statements and eventually investigated the incident which Alph Lukau was at pains to explain, even refuting the claim that he had performed a miracle. See: https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-02-27-crl-commission-probes-alph-lukau-and-dead-man/; https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-02-27-pastor-lakau-completed-a-miracle-god-had-started-church-backtracks-on-resurrection/

hostility and othering? These questions initiate a critique of the rationalism that has re-emerged with the economics of religion scholarship (Iannaccone, 1992, 1995, 1998; Iannaccone et al., 1997; Iyer, 2016). Recent scholarship has already engaged rationality through contentious practices such as eating of grass (Kgatle & Anderson, 2021). Attending to organisations, the competition envisaged in rationalist scholarship has been challenged by scholars who recognise 'competition and innovation' (Nyamnjoh & Carpenter, 2020) of Pentecostal churches. Perhaps something else ties adherents together while also enabling "dissenters" to exit.

In searching for this something else, I began exploring affect theory to focus on bodies of adherents and how they related collectively and corporeally. Affect scholarship is largely critical of post-structuralism (Massumi, 2002) and dichotomies such as body-mind. Through affect, I managed to explore emotional ties, feelings, and sentiments; I traced the exchange, shareability, circuitry, and transmission of affective ties (Ahmed, 2004; Andrikopoulos, 2021; Cole & Groes, 2016; Richard & Rudnyckyj, 2005) among religious adherents who were migrants from Zimbabwe. In embracing affect, I shunned the economism contained in economics of religion and similar perspectives within the religion and development scholarship (Freeman, 2012; Garbin, 2019; Jones, 2014). As this study will reveal, beyond the spectacle of miracle and the rationality of actors lies a much wider world of practice, expression, emotional connection and affect that Pentecostals participate in.

1.1.1 Study Aim

Using economies of affect as a conceptual tool, this study explores the lives of Zimbabwean transnational Pentecostal migrants based in Johannesburg and Pretoria. Relying primarily on a perspective situated within the 'affective turn'(Clough, 2008b), I explore how affect sustains ordinary ties *with* and ties *between* Pentecostal migrants in their religious, and social lives. In the process, I draw on scholarship which attends to managed emotions (Fadil, 2009; Hochschild, 2003; Kanai, 2019; Wise & Velayutham, 2008) and emotional geographies (Davidson & Milligan, 2004; Kobayashi et al., 2011; Navaro-Yashin, 2012; Thrift, 2008) to argue against scholarship which limits affectivity to the human body alone (Davidson & Milligan, 2004; Turner, 2021). In addition, I augment to the scholarship that

conceives of affect as a relational force which enables bodies of various kinds to interact (Hardt, 1999; Slaby & Röttger-Rössler, 2018; Johnson, 2017).

1.1.2 Rationale

In this section of the chapter, I present a justification for the research. In making such a justification, I address the

- ✓ justifications for focusing on affect in Pentecostalism,
- ✓ motivation for deploying affect and emotion, as well as,
- ✓ justification for specifically considering Zimbabwean migrants.

Although some aspects of these justifications are revisited at greater length in the ensuing chapters, I flag them now to present a composite motivation for the study. After all, it is a study on affect hence it ought to pique interest, draw in readers and most importantly, move them — at the very least in cognitive terms.

The study focused on a church which I have given the pseudonym Speak In Tongues (SIT). SIT is a Pentecostal church whose origins are in Zimbabwe but due to several factors, is now present in South Africa, United Kingdom, Australia, some Gulf States among many other locations. In this sense, focus was on a global Pentecostal church. The church does not self-identify as a transnational movement. Neither does it make claim to being a global church, opting instead to identify as an 'international church'. However, because of the scope of the study, ties within the church and among its membership, as well as the theoretical moorings that I choose to employ, I conceive of the church as a transnational movement.

Pentecostalism

Attending to affect in Pentecostalism is motivated by the recognition that Pentecostalism is expressed through manifest works of the spirit as well as through bodily practices, fasting, prayer, and public witnessing (Marshall, 2009). Pentecostalism has grown in followership across the continent, drawing on various theological and cultural epistemologies (Wariboko, 2017). Contrary to most mainstream Christian denominations, it harnesses affective shows as a key aspect of religious practise (Comaroff, 2012). In South Africa, it has been at the centre of some media storms and public debate as the offering of spiritual goods such as

miracle money and consumption of harmful goods have stirred public debates (Kgatle, 2020). This makes Pentecostalism of much interest as a growing religious movement in contrast to other religious traditions whose influence may be significant but is overshadowed by the sheer presence, noise, and growing impact of the Pentecostal movement which scholars such as Engelke (2010) and de Witte (2008) have observed in different contexts.

In addition, exploring Pentecostalism in Johannesburg and Pretoria is in keeping with the observation that 'world religions are associated with the emergence and development of the city' (Bourdieu, 1991, p.6). Pentecostal presence is marked in many African urban areas where signs, symbols and materials complement sounds (de Witte, 2008), grandiose structures (Goh & van der Veer, 2016), and widespread use of various media forms (Meyer, 2013) all in competition with other religious actors such as traditional religions, Islam and other expressions of Christianity. Pentecostalism is therefore shaping and being influenced by various internal and external, local and translocal factors which enable circulation of affects. If these are all signifiers of Pentecostalism's vibrancy, so too are emotions and affects which have so far received little attention.

The proliferation of Pentecostalism across the African expanse has enticed some development thinkers into exploring how this Christian flavour contributes to development and what initiatives it engages in (Deneulin & Rakodi, 2010; Freeman, 2012; Jones, 2014; Rakodi, 2012). This is a discourse which is tempting to engage in but also one which I deliberately choose to avoid. Rather, suffice it to state that, the present study glances at the developmental role of religion but with little concern for what is done, by whom and how. Rather, the study could be framed as one which questions *what does what is done (or not done) do*? Cast in such light, concern is on the affective experiences/encounters of members as they go through their lives while engaged in their religion. The direction that I address here is scantily attended to with the compilation by Dilger, Bochow, et al. (2020) being an exception. Thus, the study responds to Gammerl et al. (2017) who agitate for conceptions of affect situated outside of the global north – a feat that I attend to through affective ties in African Pentecostalism.

Transnationalism

Employing affect in transnationalism compresses space as there is immediacy in sharing emotions, intimacies, and affective ties. Although these are hinted at in studies of mediation in Pentecostalism (Becker & Cabrita, 2018; Benyah, 2020; Cazarin & Cossa, 2017; de Witte, 2018), the lens is in my view, narrow as it only attends to media and 'sensational forms' (Meyer, 2008). In adopting affect, the mundane which lies outside of the media gaze can be drawn to light. In other words, those social, religious, and economic aspects to Pentecostal life which are not traceable through media forms are unravelled. However, the agenda is not to deploy affect for affect's sake. As I detail at the end of this section, affect avails numerous avenues of enquiry. In my engagement, affect was particularly integral in establishing emotional and affective connections in a transnational religious setting and how they influenced social ties. Set in the so-called third/developing word, this scholarship harkens to Gammerl et al.'s (2017) call to consider feeling differently across settings. The work presents what affects do to social ties in a religious organisation whose footprint traverses national borders. I suggest that affects generate affective solidarity and affective curatorship which in turn reveal how social ties are forged, fracture and fluctuate within a Pentecostal movement.

Migrant groups are particularly interesting because of their multiplex ties with host and home communities. Hosts are primarily communities which receive migrants and have claims to belonging in specific places. Home communities are those from which the migrant hails. Both terms are used here in descriptive terms even as we recognise that conceptually, they are much more complex especially where migrants traverse multiple locations. Importantly, ties are not always consistent as the contrasts between Coleman's (2000) communities and Ilana van Wyk's (2014) strangers reveal. Is there community among strangers? Along this line of questioning, much theorising about religious communities and solidarities can still be developed particularly on the level of sensorial relations which I attend to using affective lens. My approach adds to the scholarship on religious ties, community, and relationality which in the South African context has been attended to by van Wyk (2014) in her work on the Brazilian-founded Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG). However, instead of considering the connections (or lack thereof) in terms of

community, I look at relations of affect or what Wilkinson (2016) has identified as the 'orthopathy of Pentecostalism'. In this sense, my approach mirrors Garbin (2018) who makes connections of remittances and moral economies among Kimbanguists in the Democratic Republic of Congo. 9eploy9r, *contra* Garbin, I recognise that sentimental and emotional ties are not confined to the material but also constitute the immaterial.

Transnational Pentecostalism

Transnational Pentecostalism explores the spatial connectivities which tie Pentecostal practice with various sites on a transnational scale (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2010). Researchers exploring transnational Pentecostalism have considered emotions and sentiment (Cazarin, 2018; Cazarin & Cossa, 2017), practices and peculiarities (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2010; Garbin, 2019) spanning across geopolitical spaces. In exploring such phenomena and consistent with Spinoza's philosophy on affect (Scruton, 2002), the dichotomies between sacred and profane, agency and structure, individuality and corporatism and emotions and rationality are often complicated. In the case of the latter dichotomy, the 'affective turn' (Clough, 2007, 2008b) has offered robust critique. Affect theory in its various manifestations equips researchers with tools to explore senses, sensibilities and meanings emitted by bodies in their corporeal and corporate sense. To borrow from Maruška Svašek, deploying affect allows for examinations of "not only how people define and talk about particular emotions and attachments, but also exploring how sociality is shaped by emotional interaction and how attitudes and interactions are informed by people's emotional judgements and habitus" (Svašek, 2010, 876). My intervention is necessitated by scarce engagement of affect in the scholarship of transnational religious formations.

Affect

The study incorporates emotion in its discussion of affect. This is deliberate primarily because as fleeting pre-personal intensities (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), affects are not readily observable. Instead, it is emotions which become open to scrutiny in the mundane performances of social actors. Emotions are the result and evidence of affectation. In motivating my agenda, I am aware that emotions have

been studied at length within the Pentecostal movement following on studies on emotions in religion in general (Fish, 2005; Kotrosits, 2016; Leuba, 1912). Emotion in religion constitutes an extensively excavated area from Weber to Durkheim and beyond. Having undergone a hiatus, the salience of emotions has resurfaced with new scholarship on sensations — the sensorial turn — as well as the emotional turn. Dissatisfied with post-structuralism (Clough, 2008b), this scholarship has resurrected Spinozan questions of what the body can do (Seigworth & Gregg, 2010) while recognising the salience of affect in social configurations (Röttger-Rössler & Slaby, 2018) without discarding strands from scholars that include Sigmund Freud and Henri Bergson among others (see Chapter 3). As Birgit Meyer has demonstrated, religion is sensible through 'sensational forms' which are ways in which the divine is experienced and known (Meyer, 2008). The study added perspective in this area by presenting data on Zimbabwean migrants based in South Africa.

What novel insights does affect theory present to the study? Margaret Wetherell suggests that among social researchers, invoking affect in their scholarship 'is about infusing social analysis with what could be called psychosocial 'texture''(Wetherell, 2012, 4). Mazzarella (2009) disputes the value of affect noting that that its proponents suggest it is beyond language and elusive yet they proceed to deploy language to articulate the same phenomena. I agree with Mazzarella's criticism but understand it as a criticism of poststructuralism whose privileging of language is avoided in this thesis. The study explores affective ties as social relations which manifest in practise via love, grief, compassion, and care as well as discursively through teachings and doctrine.

General motivations

There are equally practical motivations for my exploration. Religion as social practice responds to both rationalist and economist theorisations of behaviours and practices. Religion complicates social boundaries, which followers may conform to, breach, or simply traverse. Movement between and beyond such borders is not always without costs. David Chidester has already intimated this noting that,

> "If we adopt Emile Durkheim's simple definition of the sacred as that which is "set apart," we must also recognise the ways in which the sacred is "set apart" at the centre of social relations, providing highly charged terms for both social cohesion and social conflict" (Chidester, 2012, p.101)

Chidester's thinking illuminates a whole field requiring scholarly attention regarding religious migrant groupings. As an outsider group, migrants negotiate social access on multiple layers oftentimes more than once. For example, among some African migrants in South Africa, exclusion from economic and political fields is not uncommon (Crush & Tawodzera, 2016; Hamber et al., 2015; Peberdy, 2001). This applies to Zimbabwean migrants who respond through the use of language (Siziba, 2014) and social events such as soccer matches (Katsaura, 2018) — among other devices — to access and renegotiate relations in wider social fields. While the availability of routes for negotiation suggests that exclusion is not permanent, it is rather odd that, with the exception of Núñez's (2015) study which considers emotion and select chapters in a recent publication on 'affective trajectories' (Dilger, Bochow, et al., 2020), Pentecostalism has received scant attention as an affectively vibrant arrangement which entails inclusion and exclusion within the religious group as well as forging and fracturing of ties between the religious group and non-members. Moreover, the empirical lacuna prevails in spite of the proliferation of relatively new 'Zimbabwean' Pentecostal churches (such as United Family International Church[5]) in South Africa.

There is also the small matter of disciplinary monologues which has motivated my intervention. Migration has resulted in the export of religious traditions to South Africa and other African countries as revealed in studies on migrant religions (Núñez, 2015; Wilhelm-Solomon, 2017; Zulu & Wilhelm-Solomon, 2015). Such mobilities of religious flavours have culminated in 'vibrant centres of religious innovation'(Burchardt & Becci, 2013). However, although transnational Pentecostalisms have reached South Africa and West Africa (Ojo, 2008; van Wyk, 2015; Sjødin, 2017; Wilhelm-Solomon, et al., 2017), at the time of working on this project, studies of transnational Pentecostal migrants (*see for example* Adogame,

[5] http://www.ufiministries.org/art_sandton.php; https://www.phdministries.org/our-offices/

2010; Garbin, 2012; Garbin & Godin, 2013; Hüwelmeier, 2009) were largely dissociated from studies on transnational affects (Wise & Velayutham, 2006, 2017) with the exception of Dilger et al. (2018) who considered a neo-Pentecostal movement together with a Sufi collective in Berlin. With respect to transnational Pentecostalism on the African escarpment, there was – to the best of my knowledge — nothing done beyond Dilger et al.'s (2020) work which is predominantly concerned with affectivity and urbanity. I offer a different empirical lens to Dilger et al. (2018) in terms of spatial focus as well as my theorising of affective ties. I return to these issues in a literature review section later on.

So what?

It is inevitable that the question 'so what?' is posed. So what if affects and emotions are managed, circulated, moderated, and shared in transnational religious settings? I suggest that the study is useful on at least two grounds: practical and theoretical.

1. Although religion provides "concrete material, emotional, and organisational support and care to those living in precarious and dangerous situations" (Dilger, Burchardt, et al., 2020), participation within religious organisations also stirs points of tension and fracture, reconciliation and respite. In exploring these, the productivity of emotions and affects emerges. Already recognised in formal politics where political affects have been explored in various contexts (Clough, 2008b; Da Costa, 2016; Hemmings, 2012), I argue that affects in transnational religious circuits produce solidarities and moments of rapture and transformation in migrant groupings which are addressed through curatorship (in its religious sense) as it manifests both among members and from the pastorate. Curatorship when understood as a vital aspect of connectedness among Christians broadly, highlights the cohered and contested notions of care and cure. These ties are both situated in local contexts as well as across transnational dimensions.
2. There are empirical contributions which the study also makes with respect to emotions and affect literature in Zimbabwean migrant communities. While scholarship which harnesses emotions has been registered (Clayton & Manyena, 2020; Dube, 2017; Kufakurinani et al., 2014; Madziva, 2010), among

> transnational Pentecostals, there is hardly any attention which has deployed — let alone theorised — affect.

In addition to my justifications for engaging in a study which deploys affect in Pentecostalism, I invoke Karen Bray and Stephen Moore's contention that deploying affect is enriching because it:

- Enables researchers to avoid resorting to the linguistic fallacy
- Impels us to reattend to material encounters in the religious sphere
- Impels us to rethink where ritual and faith are practiced today
- Returns us to the fourth source of theology, namely, experience (Bray & Moore, 2020, p.6-7)

To this list and in his reading of affective labour[6] Hardt (2007) adds that affect 'engages at once with rational intelligence and with the passions or feeling' while Patricia Clough suggests that affects invite

> 'a transdisciplinary approach to theory and method that necessarily invites experimentation in capturing the changing co-functioning of the political, the economic, and the cultural, rendering it affectively as change in the deployment of affective capacity' (Clough, 2007, p.3).

Affect is therefore valuable in the sense that it extends the scope of empirical research while enabling a critical convergence of rationality with emotion. These dimensions have tended to be construed as disjointed in the scholarship on religion, this is most evident in the economics of religion school (*See for example*: Iannaccone, 1992, 1995, 1998; Iannaccone et al., 1997; Iyer, 2016).

1.1.3 Problem statement

Although there is extensive literature on emotions in religion (Corrigan, 2017; Johnson, 2017; O'Neill, 2013; Prichard, 2017; Schaefer, 2015; Supp-Montgomerie, 2015; Trein, 2019; von Scheve et al., 2020), within studies of Pentecostalism, the scholarship remains scant often compounded by little deployment of affective lens. The few available studies of this kind attend to single churches (Johnson, 2018), a

[6] This concept borrows from feminist scholarship where Arlie R. Hochschild (1979) developed the concept emotional labour.

historical movement in colonial times (Prichard, 2017) or affective experiences *during* meetings (Wade & Hynes, 2013). The empirical lacuna is mirrored by a dearth in theorising about Pentecostalism, mobility and affect. For a religious form which claims victory now and, in the afterlife, such shortcomings demand attention especially in a continent where religion continues to challenge secularisation and its antecedents (cf. Berger, 2008; Stark, 1999). Pentecostalism is very engaged with 'the world' often straining to affect various dimensions via the spirit world but also directly in various forms of engagement such as the believer's worldview and what is deemed (im)possible with/without God. Moreover, its stamp in Africa is immense, with some cities such as Lagos and Accra bearing a Pentecostal stamp in their infrastructures (Burchardt, 2019; de Witte, 2018; Katsaura, 2020; Meyer, 2011; Wariboko, 2017).

In addition, studies which have attended to the role of emotion in shaping relations between the laity and their religion address ephemeral experiences (Williams, 2016) and more sustained ties (Cazarin, 2018) but do not reveal how such ties develop, are sustained and fracture over time.

1.2 Research questions

Considering the problems mentioned above, and deploying affective lens, the research poses and responds to the following key question:

What role does Pentecostalism play in the (re-)production of religious, and social affective experiences of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg and Pretoria?

To answer this question in full, the following ancillary/sub-questions are interrogated:

1. What meanings does Pentecostalism have for migrants in the city?
2. How does Pentecostalism (re)define religious, social, and economic boundaries and cleavages between the "born-again" and "unsaved" in an urban setting?
3. What emotional and affective resources do Pentecostal migrants harness in negotiating religious, social, and economic fields?

4. How do emotions and affects influence boundary-setting and cleavage-formation within local and transnational migrant networks?

1.3 An outline and background of the church from Zimbabwe into South Africa

To answer the questions that I laid out above, I focussed on Speak in Tongues[7], a church which was founded in Gweru, Zimbabwe in the 1990s by seven members comprising of the current Bishop, his family and a few other friends who have since exited the fray. I draw on "economies of affect" in my theorising of circulation, management, and moderation of affect within and across transnational lines. Although not a particularly novel concept, having been used by other scholars (Ahmed, 2004; Elias et al., 2000; Mahmood, 2005; Richard & Rudnyckyj, 2005), my deployment eschews Marxist and wholly macro influences, opting instead to contemplate economies in their primordial sense. Economies of affect are essentially networks of relational ties where affects circulate, are curated and managed, with instances of binding and fracturing. I hasten to add that while my focus is on relational ties in more intimate social spaces, economies of affect are entwined in wider social arrangements as demonstrated by scholarship on political affects (see for example: Churcher et al., 2022; Hutchison, 2016; Olson, 2020).

Returning to my empirical site SIT, according to one of the church magazines, it is from humble beginnings in October 1995 that the church grew, first moving premises to a theatre house in the city and then relocating to its prnesent centre — also situated in town — in the year 2001. In the same year, SIT started its bible school which has trained leaders who have gone on to open new branches. Occupying the centre of the enterprise is Bishop Mark Moyo and his wife Senior Reverend Miriam Moyo. Both leaders claim to separate divine encounters which alerted them to a calling to ministry. Bishop Moyo's encounters are, however, most often recounted. In one version, he heard a divine voice while in his house in Zimbabwe; in another version he had a divine encounter after a brief emigration to Swaziland where he had been offered a job. A third encounter recounts him hearing a divine voice while

[7] The names contained herein are pseudonyms and the deployment of pseudonyms is stated at each point of first reference.

in the United Kingdom. In the latter event, he notes that he alone heard a voice speak to him and "it was unmistakable" (Bishop sermon 07.06.2020).

What the church narrative obfuscates are the practical factors which stimulated church formation and growth in the late 1980s and early 1990s. According to a senior religious cleric who is now based in the United Kingdom, the late 1980s was a time of vibrant religious activity in Gweru characterised by formation growth, expansion, and fissure of religious organisations. Two organisations were pivotal in the foundation of church movements in Gweru, namely, Scripture Union and New Life for All (Bishop N, email exchange on 27.11.2020). Bishop Moyo – like many of the prominent founders who formed indigenous Pentecostal churches at that time — most likely benefitted from the vibrancy and used it to establish his church. The church that he founded has grown such that its presence is felt in many countries across the planet.

I was primarily interested in the church in South Africa especially in Johannesburg and Pretoria. South Africa hosts the church's biggest membership outside of Zimbabwe, shares a contiguous border with Zimbabwe and has communities sharing wide ties across social, economic, and religious fields. In fact, expansion of the church into South Africa hinged on a confluence of these dimensions. For a start, expansion into South Africa hinged on the migration of members during a tumultuous period in Zimbabwe's politics and economy, a period identified by migration scholars as the third wave of migration (Crush et al., 2012). The bishop followed up on prominent members with requests for branches to be established. One edition of the South African church's magazine records that

> Eleven years ago, 22 valiant men and women of God devoted their lives to answer the call of God and walk in his will. Therefore, they made a covenant with God to fulfil the heart's desire of their father, the founder of Speak In Tongues Church, Bishop Mark Moyo and gave birth to the first Speak In Tongues Church in the Republic of South Africa. In an endeavour to accomplish the great commission of the year 2006, Speak In Tongues South Africa started its first ever service at the Hillbrow Theatre, Johannesburg (The Evangelizer, 2017).

Mhlonishwa, a key informant with whom I had multiple conversations and interviews, added that he was personally contacted in setting up the first Johannesburg branch. He was also aware of a similar move which resulted in the establishment of the Cape Town church. In addition to following members after migration, the church also expanded through incorporating indigenous churches which were in Mpumalanga province. Incorporation meant that a leader of an indigenous church would have "to submit himself to Bishop" while doing more "church plantings" (Snr Kudzai interview, 31 July 2020). Complementing these growth strategies was a collaboration effort with other Pentecostal churches in South Africa. Such collaborations were evident in shared corporate events which leaders attend and even visits particularly by members of SIT to some local churches. For example, Bishop Mosa Sono who is founder and leader of Grace Bible Church, was often invited to participate in SIT events. One leader in South Africa, Snr Kudzai, noted that Bishop Sono's church was one which they partnered with in public events such as anti-xenophobia marches.

I outline the church and its founders as a way of setting up an entry into thinking of and about affect. The church is bound together and also fractures around intra and inter-church affective relations. Starting off with affect as a relational force, I build up my arguments over various chapters to reveal how Bishop Moyo, teachings about covering and loyalty, events such as weddings, celebrations, funerals, deaths, and personal worries all coalesce to form what I call an economy of affect which binds and fractures local and translocal relations. More importantly, I trace the ways in which affects are produced, managed, and curated by various actors who include leaders and senior figures in the church. But before we turn to the detailed concepts and then consider affect in the church, I briefly provide an outline of the remainder of the research report.

1.4 Organisation of the thesis

The thesis comprised of eight chapters, with the first four chapters encompassing the introduction, theoretical chapter, a review of literature on affects/emotions in transnational Pentecostalism, and finally, the research methodology. Thereafter, subsequent empirical chapters are structured as follows:

Chapter five: Sets the tone for an empirical discussion which ties organisations to individuals. It addresses the corporately generated, shared, and moderated affects which both bind and disentangle ties between members and their church. To do this, the chapter discusses how declarations, loyalty, unity, and covering are affective and normative concepts which are both binding and fissiparous. The concepts function as technologies in the sense that they are part of church doctrine and teaching, expressed with the aim of establishing a common stamp across borders. In this sense, they are institutionalised and therefore produced and transmitted in formal channels. The chapter argues that through deployment of these concepts and technologies, multiple avenues for establishing affective community emerge. In the same process, possibilities for disunity emerge as the laity contest expectations of loyalty and authority.

Chapter six: Having established affective community at SIT in the previous chapter, Chapter 6 then attends to the bonds that bind church members together as well as with non-members. This is explored through the concept of affective solidarity. Love, friendship, courtship, and weddings form the key windows through which ties which foster affective solidarity are explored. The chapter's argument, which builds on management of affects, is that affective solidarity is drawn from dissonance as Hemmings (2012) has suggested as well as from points of collective and shared sentiment.

Chapter seven: If affective community and solidarity suggest stability and cohesion in the collective, affective curatorship reveals that fractures typify the local and transnational ties at SIT. Affective curatorship is a concept that reveals the reparative efforts that members and the leadership make in instances where fault lines appear. These efforts are predominantly made within the church but are also extended to non-church groups and individuals. Through care and compassion, we explore how efforts to repair affective ties develop and the complications that emerge in the process.

Chapter eight: The final chapter presents a synthesis of arguments, conclusions, and implications for future scholarship. The chapter also highlights the limitations and strengths of the research, in conjunction with possible directions for future

research with a particular interest in orientations for studies incorporating affect in the “global south”.

Chapter 2: Bringing literatures into conversation: Transnationalism, Pentecostalism and Affect(s)

2.1 Introduction

Scholarship drawing together affect, transnationalism and Pentecostalism is scant. What is available largely attends to either emotions and transnationalism, emotional geographies (Curti et al., 2011; Davidson & Milligan, 2004; Thrift, 2004, 2008) or affect and Pentecostalism (Comaroff, 2012; Wade & Hynes, 2013). This chapter augments to the available scholarship by drawing affect, transnationalism, and Pentecostalism into a unified scholarly debate. The first area of debate that this chapter attends to is the conception of the three terms — transnationalism, affect and Pentecostalism. There is less uncertainty in the case of Pentecostalism than in the former two. Thereafter, I engage the debates around space and affect before addressing affect in religion in general and Pentecostalism in particular. In addressing these issues, the chapter attends to the question, "how do emotions and affects influence boundary-setting and cleavage-formation within local and transnational migrant networks?" Through a review of literature, the chapter argues that within transnational social and religious spaces, affect circulates and is produced through instruments of power, through organisational tools and technologies as well as through activities of group members.

I situate my scholarship within the discourses and debates of networked affects (Stage, 2017) as well as geographies of emotions, and the 'connected migrant'(Diminescu, 2008). However, because emotions play a peripheral figure within my exploration, I afford more emphasis to affect's imbrication with transnationalism. Affect and transnationalism have complicated genealogies and conceptions which are nonetheless synergistic because they highlight movement, circulation and mobility of energies, bodies, ideas and materials.

The chapter ties emotions and affect to transnationalism by flagging "emotional life on the move"(Boccagni & Baldassar, 2015) within a multi-sited religious field across geosocial spaces, that is, spaces that are not *bound* by political boundaries (Mitchell & Kallio, 2017). On another plane, a rich theoretical and empirical engagement of the migration-religion confluence has been made in the collection *Traveling Spirits: Migrants, Markets and Mobilities* (Hüwelmeier, 2010) albeit without directly

engaging the emerging scholarship on affect. Such conceptual disconnects highlight the chapter's core concern: drawing literatures into a single conversation. I commence my discussion with a discussion of affect's evolution before turning to transnationalism.

2.2 Affect(s)

This section details affect as a concept and then attends to the debates around affect which tease out its mobility and traversing of space. In doing so, the literature on affect is positioned to engage the literature in transnationalism.

2.1.1 A genealogy of concepts: affect in philosophy, psychology and neurobiology

Affect as a term predates emotion, and yet conventional familiarity posits emotions as the most ideal entry point to understanding affect. In other words, although dissimilar (Massumi, 2002), affects are associated with emotions (Cetinić & Diamanti, 2017). What we refer to as emotions today is a concept and phenomenon which is relatively new in the history of feelings (Dixon, 2003; Plamper, 2017). 'In the West, from antiquity until about 1860, it was primarily philosophy and theology that defined thinking about emotions' using the language of passions, affectations and will (Plamper, 2017, p.9). Emotions have evolved from ancient Greece's passions, to a progressive detachment from religion, and now psychology (Boddice, 2017; Dixon, 2003). This evolution has not been linear and clear-cut. For example, music adopted the language of affect through *Affektenlehre* (Grant, 2018; Wehrs, 2017) while William James' (1884) work on emotions adopted divergent yet much more fruitful lines of enquiry (Dixon, 2003)[8]. Importantly, dominant contemporary tracing of emotions is steeped in western philosophy. Fortunately, anthropologists such as Rosaldo (1980) have shown together with other researchers on emotion (Riis & Woodhead, 2010) that there is a cultural dimension to emotions. This dimension deserves attention even within Pentecostal arenas.

Numerous issues have complicated scholarship of affect and emotions. For a start, emotions scholarship has adopted tools which signify an aspirational shift from philosophy towards newer fields (Boddice, 2017; Dixon, 2003; Plamper, 2017). In

[8] In addition, historians exploring feelings in religion have poured over archives which detail the range of feelings among persecuted groups in the sixteenth century (Roberts, 2019; Tarantino & Zika, 2019).

addition, work on the history of emotions has essentialised 'grand narratives' at the expense of philosophy (Rosenwein, 2002). Histories were confined into narrow epochs which – to the chagrin of historians such as Barbara Rosenwein and William Reddy (Plamper, 2010) — satisfied researcher biases. For example, few studies reviewed by Rosenwein (2002) considered emotions in classical times; even fewer dealt with emotions outside of European or American contexts. Although some of these gaps have subsequently been attended to by some scholars (Tarantino & Zika, 2019), a few glaring issues remain with implications for how emotions and affect are theorised today. Within the social sciences, these gaps are typified by the disparate theoretical positions which pit social constructivism of emotions against their universalism (Plamper, 2017). Furthermore, subjectivity and cultural influences which are recognised in emotions scholarship are contested among scholars of affect.

Given this complex and evolving scholarly terrain, is there any value in exploring social phenomena through emotional and/or affective lens? To answer this, we must turn to what each area entails which will in turn reveal what each offer.

2.1.2 Affect and emotion: distinct or similar?

To help us understand the difference between emotions and affects, Wetherell (2012) discusses the dancing plague of 1518. She problematises this by highlighting those aspects of the dancing plague which could not be accounted for in any of the emotional categories recognised by psychological approaches. Psychology would have narrowed down the emotional repertoire to between five and seven emotions. Wetherell reveals that there were other forms of affect which emotional classifications are ill-equipped to recognise. This shortcoming is particularly evident in Tomkins' affect classification system (cf. Wetherell, 2012) despite his attempts which ironically distinguish his scholarship from schools which employ rigid classifications such as Darwinism (Demos, 1995).

Although relational and therefore social, affects[9] are not shaped by culture; neither are they wholly subjective. Rather, as pre-personal forces (Massumi, 2002), they are intensities which move from body to body with little scope for containment.

[9] I use the plural to recognise that there are numerous affective states. However, when referring to the theoretical field, I use the singular affect.

Conversely, emotions which stem from personal feelings can be contained, shared, and changed through moods.

Deborah Thien offers an incisive intervention that illuminates the conceptual distinction between emotions and affect. She avers that affect is 'the *how* of emotions' (Thien, 2005, p.451). In other words, emotions are what we see when people have been affected while affect is the invisible spur leading to that outcome. The distinction is useful when considering studies which employ psychological and/or biological frames as they tend to recognise emotions as indicators, signals or measures of affect. This perspective is limited in theoretical and empirical reach given the expanding disciplinary interest in affect.

Not all scholars agree that there is a hard distinction between the two. Some argue that 'an emotion is a *combination* of one or more of the nine affects plus other components of experience' (Shmurak, 2006, p.10 [my emphasis]). Presented in this light, affects and emotions become co-constitutive and not separate. This perspective is common among scholars who subscribe to Tomkins' thinking.

Lastly, some scholars suggest that affect is cognitive (Duncan & Barrett, 2007) and neurological (Damasio et al., 2000; Stanley, 2017) just like emotions (Izard, 1977). In contradistinction to this reading of affects and emotions, Spinoza does not conceive of affect and emotions as merely cognitive, but opts instead to detach 'emotions from the realm of responses and situations and attach[ing] them instead to action and encounters as the affections of substance' (Thrift, 2004, p.62). Affect in this strand is practical, it is a force which is engaged through activity and not just as impulses and electric pulses within the brain and nervous system (Scheer, 2012). In agreeing with the latter conception, I add that there is a discursivity (Cvetkovitch cited in Sedgwick & Frank, 1995) and praxis to affect which covers time and space. Affect connects bodies in the city and it connects bodies across borders through practise, text and discourse.

Given a history that sets apart emotions from affect, how then can affect(s) be conceived and deployed as a concept through which to make sense of Pentecostal formations and interactions? In the following sections, I explore the literature on affect as a relational concept which connects people across local and transnational

spaces. This exploration sets up my agenda of bringing into conversation, affect and transnational Pentecostalism.

2.1.3 The debates around a concept: What is/are affect(s)?

Brian Massumi cited in Pine (2008, p.201) suggests that affect is 'the ability to affect and be affected; it is the experience of pre-personal intensity, prior to its "concretizations" in socially constructed categories represented by the emotions'. Affect is a force that 'arrives at every moment of contact' (Seigworth, 2020). For one of the foremost contemporary scholars on affect, it is a power theme 'outside of language' (Schaefer, 2015).

Given the myriad theorisations of affect, a conclusive definition and theory is still elusive (Thrift, 2004) with the terrain characterised by 'a range of social psychologies of affect' (Wetherell, 2015, p.140) across different fields and disciplines (Kristeva, 1987; Leo, 2011; Matthis, 2000; Stanley, 2017; Ural & Berg, 2019; Wehrs, 2017). Resultantly, affect theory, which is neither singular nor congealed, might not even be a theory at all (Hemmings, 2005). Nonetheless, two main strands of affect are evident from the works of Benedict Spinoza who in turn influenced Gilles Deleuze together with Felix Guattari, as well as a theoretical orientation which is tied to Silvain Tomkins. The difference between the two has been summed up as follows:

> where Deleuzian affect points to the plasticity of affect, Tomkins points to the catalogue of affects, the semi-stable phenomenological structures of embodiment (Schaefer, 2015, p.46).

The Deluezian affect is quite flexible, allowing for a reading of affect beyond the human body while Tomkins' *affects*[10] constitute a specific list or class of visible cues, all manifest as bodily imprints which are read particularly on the face (Thrift, 2004) upon exposure to given stimuli. There are at least six other theoretical positions on affect, a number which Seigworth & Gregg (2010) suggest 'highlights a slightly divergent set of concerns, often reflected in their initiating premises, the endpoints of their aims, or both'. In exploring a transnational Pentecostal movement, I am

[10] Tomkins uses the plural affects in contrast to the Spinozan strand which refers to affect (singular). Equally worthy of note is that Tomkins contrasts his affects to Sigmund Freud's scholarship which had tied affects to drives (Sedgwick & Frank, 1995).

interested in the conceptions which articulate the sociality of affect. My agenda steers me in the directions of the two main strands of affect thinking albeit with greater sympathy towards the Spinozan thinking.

In my research, I engage the scholarship on affect which responds to structuralist and poststructuralist thinkers; this scholarship inserts the body at the centre of understanding culture instead of text and other forms of media (Cetinić & Diamanti, 2017; Massumi, 2002). It follows on scholarship which has criticised claims made by leading thinkers, such as Massumi and Sedgewick, who insist on affect's prepersonality while somehow retaining its sociality (Hemmings, 2005; Leys, 2011). In the criticism, what emerges is that affect is relational (Cifor, 2016; Röttger-Rössler & Slaby, 2018; von Scheve, 2018), connecting corporeal bodies within social arrangements as well as corporate bodies in political contexts. This relational dimension of affect leads us to affect as a socially productive force.

2.1.4 Affect in Social Arenas

In addressing whether affect is an unhinged free force or a socially contained element, Donovan Schaefer contrasts the 'autonomy of affect and the animality of affect' (Schaefer, 2019). Schaefer's thinking which contemplates affect beyond human social ties is closely tied to affect as 'posthuman emotion' (Robinson & Kutner, 2018), and a 'preconscious form of emotion that is registered in bodies and has political effects but is not reducible to known feelings, such as envy or joy' (Barnwell, 2018, p.21). Affect in the aforementioned perspectives is outside of consciousness and beyond linguistic articulation (Massumi, 2002).

Following Dilger et al. (2018) and Pedwell (2014), I employ affect as a relational phenomenon and in doing so, I attend to the webs of connectivity which circulate between and among bodies. Such an approach is useful given the transnational relations which are carved at both individual, societal, and institutional level in the Pentecostal faith. A relational reading is also useful for the study because it recognises affect as "a theory of power" (Schaefer, 2019). Moreover, it is consistent with perspectives of some affect theorists, perspectives which I turn to now.

Affect can be communal (Walkerdine, 2010), individualising (Harding & Pribram, 2004) as well as environmental/contextual as 'affective atmospheres' (Brennan 2004 cited in Seyfert, 2012). In addition, affect is infra-empirical (Clough, 2010). These concepts suggest that affect is fleeting, it lingers, shimmers (Seigworth & Gregg, 2010) and moves from body to body, at times corporately. Massumi (2020) sees affect as a potent tool to deploy against poststructuralism. Yet, as Hemmings (2005) notes, Massumi and Sedgewick's advocacy for affect is riddled with irregularities which include a selective engagement with ideas, poor citation, essentialising of ontology as an alternative to prevailing epistemologies and more worryingly, a debatable conception of affect. On these counts, Pedwell (2020) remarks that Massumi claims to offer a new "vocabulary" and so is not against poststructuralism but seeks to demonstrate additional ways of understanding social and political phenomena. In turn, Hemmings (2005) wonders, if affect is as free as Massumi and Sedgewick's scholarship suggests, then how do we explain sexualised, gendered and racialised affectivity of bodies which is attended to by Audre Lorde and Franz Fanon among others. It is in this light that Ahmed (2004, 2013) introduces the "stickiness" of affect. Instead of being just a free force which circulates between bodies, affect attaches over time to some bodies, classes or groups and enables accumulation of histories which provoke reactions in moments of encounter. My thinking resonates with such scholarship because affect is not a neutral force/energy that merely leaps from one body to another. Instead, it is productive, yielding shifts in atmosphere, networks and circuits. In a word, it plays a part in social constructions which I trace as co-productions of individual and corporate ties. My intervention in this discourse is to highlight the role of agents and collectives in generating, sustaining, and vivifying affective ties. With affect's social relatedness in mind, we now turn to the place of affect in religion.

2.1.4.1 Locating Affect within religious assemblages

A key starting point for my discussion is the conceptualisation of affect itself which I have earlier outlined. To recap, in this study, I am interested in affect as relational, traceable in embodied emotions and capacities which connect people and objects. In this sense, affect resonates with Durkheimian sociology on his concept of 'collective effervescence' (Fish, 2005) which is mirrored by Böhme's atmospheres (Riedel, 2019). In his classic work on religion, Durkheim (1995) alluded to 'collective

effervescence'[11] to identify shared sentiments which emerge from a gathering of people and where a 'sensation of sacredness' is derived. Elsewhere, collective effervescence is defined as 'a multifaceted experience that involves a sense of connection to others and a sensation of sacredness' (Gabriel et al., 2020, p.3). While collective effervescence ties corporeal bodies together, affect connects bodies to objects, ideas or other materials (Blackman, 2012). In addition, collective effervescence is broad and totalising while affect is more nuanced and specific (Wilkinson, 2017). When Durkheim writes on collective effervescence, he captures the mood and air in a collective. Yet moods and airs are often socially differentiated by, among others, gender and class (*see for example* Vora, 2020).

Adding to Durkheim's concept are scholars who have explored collective effervescence within the psychology domain and in Christianity where fear and awe dominate the relatedness of people to their God (Leuba, 1912). In religious praxis, various emotions are harnessed to engage not just with the divine but to connect with fellow congregants. Recognising the practical manifestations of emotional and affective connections, deploy affective labour as a theoretical formulation for detailing how corporate emotions and affects are created. The atmospheres which characterise praise and worship sessions become emblematic of charged emotional environments, typified by bodily movements, song, and gestures as part of the production of various emotional states. Therefore, emotions are corporately generated as part of a collective performance in an 'effervescent assembly' (Pickering 1984 cited in Gabriel, et al., 2020).

My deployment of affect via Spinoza, recognises bodies as constituent elements of a higher, perfect being which he calls a "substance" (Scruton, 2002). In Spinoza's thinking, all elements draw from the substance and are therefore interconnected. Consistent with Spinoza's train of thought, my interest lies in ties within and between a church, its members, and immediate social actors[12]. I think of the church that I investigated, SIT, as a quasi-theological body (that is, as the body of Christ) – what von Scheve (2018) calls 'relations with ideational bodies'. Resultantly, the

[11] In the literature of emotions, historians Peter and Carol Stearns have coined the term emotionology 'as a useful term with which to distinguish the collective emotional standards of a society from the emotional experiences of individuals and groups' (Stearns & Stearns, 1985).

[12] For practical and logistical reasons, I do not trace ties between members and their God (or substance as Spinoza would suggest).

local churches in South Africa and the church back in Zimbabwe can be read as separated in space yet still a unified 'body'. It is this conception that enables me to knit together transnational affect which I trace in the lives, encounters, and experiences of individual members as well as the church as an organisation.

In addition to ties in corporate bodies, with Spinoza's thinking offers glimpses into the synergies (Arab, 2019) and affective ties that stem from material religion, material religion[13]. Yet in contemporary scholarship, affect and material religion appear to whisper at each other. This persists despite recognition that 'religion involves a multitude of sacred objects imbued with emotional significance' (Riis & Woodhead, 2010, p.96) while affect 'has an affinity with divinity'(Bray & Moore, 2020). Complementing this scholarship are new concepts such as 'infrastructuring religion' which highlights the mediation of religion 'not only by ritual or sacred objects but routinely also by infrastructures' (Burchardt, 2019 p.627). Through such concepts, researchers can make sense of religion and Pentecostalism's relatedness with urban materials. But, what of the body itself and its relatedness with materials and atmospheres outside the sacred? In other words, what about 'people as infrastructure' (Simone, 2004)? It is here that affect goes beyond complementing material religion in making the divine approachable; affect enables the profane, unsaved world to be equally sensible through the corporeal. The same bodies which assume sacrilege – according to aspects of Christian theology (the body is the temple of God [*1 Corinthians 6 v 19*]; and the body of Christ in the form of the church) – also figure as strange and migrant bodies in various sections of the urban milieu. In these wider spaces, these bodies do not lose their affectivity and can therefore continue to be studied with the same incisiveness as afforded to infrastructures. Among the areas where affect and material religion remain poorly incorporated are studies of Zimbabwean migrant religions. The study addressed this empirical lacuna.

While affect slowly gains a foothold in studies of material religion, within the scholarship that addresses bodily senses and religion, strides have been made to contest dichotomies which split materiality and immateriality (von Scheve, 2018). Deploying 'sensational forms' as a theoretical concept, Meyer (2008) offers a rebuttal to studies which do not embrace the broad spectrum of senses in their

[13] The journal Material Religion is one publication that is dedicated to research on material forms of religion.

analyses. In her approach, the body is central to making sense of how religion relates to society. I read the body in both corporeal and corporate terms and trace the way these bodies relate with society *in situ* and across space. Following a similar path to Meyer but confined to cyberspace have been studies which investigate the circulation of affects online (Paasonen, 2011; Stage, 2017). To my mind, Birgit Meyer offers the most incisive contemporary scholarly work which ties materials to religion although without employing affect as a theoretical lens.

Lastly, on the theme of materiality of religion, I wish to note the scholarship which has engaged how materials are circulated (sometimes virtually) across geographic space and therefore create possibilities for transfers of affects through objects. Religious objectification enables the creation of objects that capture and provoke religious emotions and attachments (Obadare & Adebanwi, 2010; Riis & Woodhead, 2010). Such objects become objectified not just *in situ* but may develop powers and significance beyond their immediate environs. As Fjelstad (2010) observes among Len Dong spirits and their mediums, religious paraphernalia need not be situated but can move without losing their spiritual and symbolic significance. This is equally manifest mostly among neo-Pentecostals who use sanctified objects such as anointed water, oil, necklaces and other paraphernalia (Benyah, 2020; Nyamjoh, 2018). David Chidester also reminds us that with religion, sacrilege is not always determined by some process of charismatic transformation, but is observed in ordinary objects such as imported hair (Chidester, 2011). Objects, and bodies of various kinds have potential to become tools around which affects are circulated across geographic space. This is precisely what remains obscure in the literature. What affective value can be circulated in objects and ideas and with what social meanings and consequences? The empirical chapters will later reveal these dimensions. For now, I wish to specifically focus on Pentecostalism's confluence and potential contradictions with affect.

2.1.4.2 Affect in Pentecostalism

Considering the social, economic, and cultural reach of Pentecostalism, the little interest so far on affect in African Pentecostalism is remarkable. I am interested in how Zimbabwean Pentecostals based in Johannesburg and Pretoria form and maintain affective religious ties across private and public, local, and transnational

spaces. This I do following Cazarin (2018) who recognises a 'global community of sentiment' among Pentecostals in Bilbao and Johannesburg.

In the scholarship on Pentecostalism in South Africa, concerns over practices in some neo-Pentecostal churches have been raised (see for example, Kgatle & Anderson, 2021). Practices which include application of harmful pesticides on bodies and commercialized service of religion (Mofokeng, 2021) have been critiqued with particular concern over their implications on the image of the Christian faith and church. Comaroff (2012, 2014) adds voice to the criticism by highlighting how such practices are revealing of affective economies in post-millenarian capitalism. In this challenging economic and social climate, migration's role in the spread of neo-Pentecostal practice has been recognised (Kisungu, 2021) with researchers on Zimbabwean Pentecostalism noting the practices (Maxwell, 1998; Taru, 2019), theologies (Biri, 2012, 2018; Togarasei, 2015) and moral questions (Chitando & Biri, 2016; Ndlovu, 2012) among believers. It is here that scholars such as Jean Comaroff (2012) and Isabel Mukonyora (2020) embed affect into their scholarship with the latter doing so in her study of an African Independent/Initiated Church in Harare. Although they harness affect in their discussions, they nonetheless leave much room for empirical excavation, especially with respect to **transnational, Pentecostal, affective ties** in the busy Zimbabwe-South Africa corridor.

Pentecostalism on the African continent has a very strong imprint in urban settings. I briefly address affect's interlacing with urbanism here especially because Zimbabwean migrants occupy various parts of urban South African cities (Anderson, 1987; Frahm-Arp, 2015; Katsaura, 2017; Matshedisho & Wafer, 2015) where they engage in diverse religious activities (Chereni, 2014; Hankela, 2014; Zulu & Wilhelm-Solomon, 2015).

Although affect's ties with urban forms have been established by scholars such as Street (2012), it is not until recently that Dilger et al., (2020) attended to African cities using the trajectories concept. Affective trajectories and atmospheres (Verlie, 2019) are evident in portrayals of Johannesburg including in works of fiction on the city such as '*The Restless Supermarket*' (Vladislavić, 2001) where the air, feel and mood in a fictional restaurant changes as the political mood changes. Recent scholarship has devised the term 'affective trajectories' to position affect 'as highly

diversified forms of sensation, which point to the dissolution and opening of human experience in the context of religious ritual and practice into its surrounding (urban) forms' (Dilger, et al., 2020, p.14). This excellent contribution to affect in the city responds well to Edgar Pieterse's call for engaging theoretical work which reveals more of the nuances in African cities. Edgar Pieterse (2011) argues for an agenda which inserts affect into conceptions of cities as a move away from Keynesian as well as Marxist readings of complex urban phenomena. This agenda enables for a reading of cities as animated by humans, embracing the way people feel in the city and the senses and sensibilities which emerge from encountering these cities in everyday life. Oloukoi's (2015) contribution in this regard is to explore feeling of space in a residential area – as does Wilhelm-Solomon's (2020) study which is much more grounded in affect as a theoretical construct. For Oloukoi, darkness and light constitute part of the city as well as symbolising threat and security for various groups inhabiting Maboneng. Although much of the available scholarship in this domain does not attend to Pentecostalism, it highlights the affectivity of the very urban spaces that African Pentecostalism occupies. What remains scantily attended are the social workings of affect which reveal extensive ties in and out of the church. These ties have potential to reveal notions of community and solidarity.

2.1.4.3 Affect, community, and solidarity

In this section I engage scholarship on affect in groups and/or in organisations. This is because churching or the practice engaging in corporate communion as well as social engagement of is a collective and group effort even while religion can be an intimate and individual engagement. My approach offers a way of thinking about affect between *meso* and macro structures, that is, as it circulates between groups and in organisations. Corporeal bodies might engage at micro levels, but they also affect and are affected by and through groups and organisations. This was the case at SIT where, as I reveal later, micro sites of affective community emerged from participation and non-participation in official and informal church social groups.

While some affect theorists predominantly consider the corporeal body as the principal site on which affects are legible, there remain other theorists who incorporate ideas, objects, and materials to facilitate broader conceptions of affect. In this school are those who, through practice theory, consider affects as social

practices (Gherardi, 2019; Reckwitz, 2016). Reckwitz (2016, p.116) adds that 'every social order as a set of practices is a specific order of affects.' When understood in such a manner, bodies, ideas, objects and materials — sociomateriality (Gherardi, 2017) – are affective. In the sociomateriality scholarship, the corporate body and institutions are given due consideration as affective entities. Buildings (Street, 2012), the city (Dilger, Bochow, et al., 2020), doctrine (Tracey, 2016), rules (Ashcraft, 2017), and spaces (Abdel-Malek Neil, 2017; O'Neill, 2013) register their affectivity. Katila et al. (2020) theorise that organisations become sites for the attunement of affects through "affect-rhythmic order" which results in a sense of unity among the organisation's members. Tracey (2016) also finds affectivity through religious processes such as deployment of doctrine to new proselytes.

I agree with the sociomateriality scholarship in as far as it dispenses of the notion that affects are only intersubjective. Objects and ideas have affective value just as corporeal bodies do. However, in evoking attunement and atmospheres when harnessing affect, much of the sociomateriality scholarship rehashes concepts which in my thinking, have limited reach in explaining social processes such as Pentecostal practices. For example, attunement suggests that affects can be zoned into and out of. Yet, as unbounded forces and energies, affects can circulate without one being attuned to them. Shock can be encountered when we least expect it or without being attuned to it. Moreover, doctrine, habits and behaviours do not form organically but settle as a result of affective labour which is expended by the pastorate or those in positions of authority and power.

Engaging community within an African Christian religious group, Prichard (2017) formulates the concept 'affective spiritual community' to identify 'communities produced and sustained by a circuit of emotional feeling and spiritual connection' (p.6). While I find her concept useful, it constrains the notion of community to within the religious group alone. In other words, the community appears closed. For a study deploying affect, this is difficult to sustain because affect is not contained but fleets, bleeds, emits and resurfaces. In thinking through my affective community, my stand assumes difference with Andreana Prichard's on this account. Affective community is not limited to within the boundaries of the social group alone but easily incorporates even those outside of it.

2.3 Transnationalism definitions and debates

Having largely attended to affect in the preceding sections, this section considers debates on transnationalism's novelty (Struck, et al., 2011), analytical frame of reference and usefulness as a conceptual tool (Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004; Briggs, et al., 2008). Transnationalism is used, most commonly, to denote the various ties (political, social, economic, emotional) that contemporary migrants maintain with more than one country simultaneously (Brooks & Waters, 2011). It refers primarily to the cross-border activities of private grassroots actors, including immigrants (Portes, 2003). Schiller, Bach & Blanc-Szanton (1992) add that it is the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement. Adding voice, Steven Vertovec (1999, 447) defines it "as a social morphology, as a type of consciousness, as a mode of cultural reproduction, as an avenue of capital, as a site of political engagement, and as a reconstruction of 'place' or locality".

Portes (2003) cautions that transnationalism is not new as a practice *per se* but is a phenomenon that is being understood in new frames and contexts. Resultantly, it is fraught with contentious onto-epistemological shortcomings. As such "one can say a great many contradictory things about what is wrong with transnationalism, and they will all be true about someone's transnationalism" (Briggs, McCormick, & Way, 2008, p.626).

What the early scholarship on transnationalism did not incorporate were the affective ties which connect people, ideas, and materials to create affective circuits and networks. Although researchers have since acknowledged social remittances and then developed communities of sentiment (Cazarin, 2018) to highlight collective emotional ties which span across geographies, the distinction made between affect and emotion by some scholars (Massumi, 2002) warrants further complication of transnational connectivities. In the following subsections, I explore transnationalism and its confluence with space, religion, affects and Pentecostalism. However, before I dissect transnationalism in this direction, I wish to flag the major criticism around the concept.

The deployent of the nation as a unit of analysis (Olwig, 2003) introduces the 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002; Schiller, 2010; Schiller, 2018) resulting in the conceptual problem that the nation is too broad a unit of analysis for a diverse array of social groups. Therefore, scholarship which employs this perspective results in shortcomings in developing a refined, localised understanding of translocal processes. The implication is evident for a country such as Zimbabwe whose singular nationhood has been questioned and debated by some scholars (*see for example*: Masunungure, 2006; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009).

To circumvent the methodological nationalism problem, Guarnizo & Smith (1998) proffer 'transnationalism from below'. Other scholars' alternatives are bilocalism (Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004), glocalisation (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007; Robertson, 2012) and diaspora. A key conceptual difference with the latter is that transnationalism encapsulates people, ideas, objects, and practices while diaspora is largely concerned with people and community (Faist, 2010). The concept of community is productive in demonstrating network ties and unity and has been adopted in 'transnational community' (Glick Schiller, 2018). The problem, however, is that not all migrants are part of a community even where they maintain transnational ties. A migrant may identify with their country of origin and even participate in activities which hint at a sense of being attached without necessarily immersing themselves in some communal identity. Hence, instead of community, an alternative way of theorising transnational connection is 'simultaneity' (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Glick Schiller, 2018).

In contrast to Tsuda (2012), simultaneity is not constrained by the unit of analysis trap. Simultaneity hints at physical and affective presence. Not only can one be physically present in their place of destination, but they must connect emotionally through various forms of relatedness. These two forms of connectedness (physical and affective) enable a dyadic presentation of the self which spans across geographic space in some instances synchronously and at times in different moments. For example, a migrant might identify with persons, groups, and communities at a specific time (sometimes in real time) and in other instances might not readily

articulate what exactly it is that ties them to place of origin. Among Zimbabwean migrants, this is evident in the various forms of connection by different constituencies. We encounter migrants who strain to insert themselves in South Africa (Siziba, 2014) despite the various layering of outsiderness (Dube, 2017). There are also those who maintain contact with Zimbabwean communities even for purposes of secession from the current nation state to an imagined state (Mhlanga & Mpofu, 2017). With complex social and affective ties to real and virtual places, the debates around mobility and affective ties in transnational space continue to simmer; it is towards these debates that we now turn.

2.3.1 Transnational space

Transnationalism invokes notions of connectedness in and across space often depicted as transnational space (or transnational fields). In my study, I situate affective ties within this transnational space. Transnational space was therefore understood as a social expanse where bodies connected in various affective spaces. In the literature, affective spaces or 'moments when affect serves as the medium through which spatial divisions and interconnections become legible'(O'Neill, 2013, 1104) are not contained and can therefore be local, transnational or global. Although this offers a glimpse into affective spaces which occupy parts of transnational space, we have still not given transnational space a fair examination.

Numerous scholars make mention of transnational space (Bruneau, 2010; Faist, 2000; Ley, 2004; Tolentino, 1996) and yet there is no consensus on what it is and how it comes to being. This is partly because of transdisciplinary differences. The diversity makes for an interesting field of enquiry. For example, transnational space is understood as constitutive of the migration field (Bruneau, 2010), a reading which is an inversion of Bourdieusian thinking around social space and fields. Bourdieu thinks of social space

> as a field of forces, i.e., as a set of objective power relations that impose themselves on all who enter the field and that are irreducible to the intentions of the individual agents or even to the direct interactions among the agents. The active properties that are selected as principles of

> construction of the social space are the different kinds of power or capital that are current in the different fields (Bourdieu, 1985, p.724).

In turn, social space comprises of various fields in which stakes of capital are contested for. Hence in social space, there are social, economic, cultural, and political fields which are characterised by respective contests for power over social capital, economic capital, cultural and symbolic capital, and political capital.

Transnational space is broader than the networks of migrants. It includes social networks of migrants as well as transnational linkages or circuits which span across political, legal, and economic arenas. Transnational space is therefore derived from intimate networks which migrants *and non-migrants* inhabit as well as macro and meso structures which develop within. It is an arena where people, beliefs, ideas, materials, and rules connect. Resultantly, transnational space is not a given; it is socially formed and heterogenous. As already suggested, transnational space mirrors Bourdieu's expansive social space. For Bourdieu (1985), social space consists of various fields each of which have their own logics and capital. Thomas Faist posits that transnational social space emerges out of either one of two formulations:

(i) as a by-product of international migration or,

(ii) through "migrant networks, interacting with groups and institutions in the areas of destination and origin" (Faist, 2004b, p.25).

In other words, the mere act of migration and maintenance of multi-sited ties creates a transnational social space. Faist adds that by

> transnational spaces we mean relatively stable, lasting and dense sets of ties reaching beyond and across the borders of sovereign states (Faist, 2004a, p.3).

Transnational social spaces are not confined to within geopolitical boundaries. In this sense, they confront the limitations of methodological nationalism. However, Faist's work does not make a clear distinction between social field and social space. This is evident in the interchanged use of the terms (see for example: Faist, 2000), a situation that invites Bourdieu's tools to establish a clear distinction between space and fields.

In my reading, transnational space is understood as a much broader arena comprised of social, political, economic, and cultural fields. Within the various fields, actors deploy their repertoire of capitals often realising that their capital which was acquired in the emigrant nation is not accorded similar value in the host nation (Joy et al., 2018). Cultural capital acquired in Zimbabwe can therefore prove less valuable to South African markets compared to cultural capital acquired in South Africa.

Transnational social spaces are also viewed as networks of diasporic communities which are not necessarily formed due to migration (Crang et al., 2003). The communitarian dimensions of transnationalism are explored in a subsection below. For now, suffice to note that given the diverging conceptions of diaspora and community, the definition provided by Crang et al., (2003) creates conceptual knots which do less to clarify transnational space.

But how does transnational space form? Employing the rubric of network society Christian Fuchs conceives of transnational social space in the same frame as Bourdieu — although he uses 'systems' instead of fields in his terminology (Fuchs, 2007). He adds that "a social system is any set of continuous reproduced relations between human actors, no matter if they are physically co-present or not" (p.54). The production of this transnational space invites Lefebvre's (2013) insights on produced space typified by social relations. Transnational space is therefore neither essentialised nor metaphoric but rather constitutes a socially formulated arena where exchanges occur. As such, it is infused with power which manifests through either direct performed or discursive control (Collyer & King, 2015). However, Voigt-Graf (2004) reminds us that as a 'space of flows' which is traversed by migrants, transnational space also affords migrants agency. In other words, they are not subjected to the overbearing power of institutions and state machinery but find ways to also navigate the space in innovative ways. The production of this space is multifaceted.

Lastly, the idea of transnational space is difficult to imagine without mediation in an age of fast, often instant digitised communication. Portes (2001) notes that the

contemporary usage of transnationalism identifies connection through 'daily activities' as a distinct feature of modern cross-border connection. In other words, compared to previous migrant groups, frequency of interaction is more marked in contemporary transnational lives. The media forms that enable connectedness constitute some of the tools which have produced space. How affects and emotions circulate in this space is our next point of focus.

2.3.1.1 Transnational affects and emotions

Affect and transnationalism are bound together by their quality and capacity to connect bodies. To borrow from Steve Pile writing on affect, "it is transpersonal, drawing in many bodies. Affect, then, is both within and between bodies" (Pile, 2009, p.8). Affect is shared and circulated, enabling bodies across space to engage in various exchanges. For the purposes of this study, bodies attended to may be within or across geopolitical boundaries. As such, transpersonal connections may either be transnational, localised or both in the sense of translocality (Conradson & Mckay, 2007).

Through mobility, transnational ties between people, materials and ideas are initiated and facilitated. Mobility also elicits physical and metaphorical repositioning 'guided by affect' (Glaveanu & Womersley, 2021) and instils senses of being (Notar, 2012). Although the phrase 'affective mobilities' has been used by researchers such as Glaveanu & Womersley (2021), it has not been fully articulated. The limited work has left room for more probing on whether it is affects that are mobile or it is the bodies that move and serve as nodes for sharing affects. Exploring such questions raises epistemological questions as it invites lens from post-structural as well as post-phenomenological researchers. In other words, as we conduct research, are we tracing bodies, symbols around them and discourses or are we tracing fleeting energies, forces, and potentials. Where affective mobilities remains scantily clad, more theoretical work has been developed using other concepts which capture circulation, shareability, and movement of affect. Such scholarship sheds light on ways of thinking about the transnational migrants and church that I studied. In the following pages, I am occupied by these theorisations of affect's mobility via networks, circuits, transmission, atmospheres, and microgeographies.

The network and circuit metaphor has found place in transnational affect, spurred by the mediation of affect (Russo, 2017). Writing on affective circuits, Jennifer Cole and Christian Groes state that "we call the social formations that emerge from the sending, withholding, and receiving of goods, ideas, bodies, and emotions affective circuits" (Cole & Groes, 2016). They add that the circuitry metaphor is used to "capture the circular movements of people and resources both among migrants in Europe and between migrants in Europe and their kin or friends who remain in Africa." A similar justification is employed in affective networks (Dean, 2010) while Thrift (2008) resorts to infrastructural networks of pipes and cables. Circuits — and networks – are messy in the sense that they are prone to malfunction due to disruption and conflict. While they enable for social solidarity, networks collapse when a node is disrupted. Yet this is not always the case with social *relations* where a migrant might choose to lose contact, but affective ties remain. Writing on Kenyan Pentecostal migrants, Leslie Fesenmyer (2016) hints that affective circuits can be reconfigured to meet the exigencies of social life. Reconfiguration avoids notions of complete collapse while retaining the connectedness of bodies. Moreover, networks and circuits privilege mechanisms of connectivity while distancing the body from analysis. Although this sheds light on affect and materials, it also casts a shadow on how bodies function in the networks/circuits.

Networks and circuits comprise of various elements which come together at nodal points. They however are evocative of boundedness because their functionality hinges on what belongs in the network and what does not. As stated above, when a node is disrupted, the network faces interruption and possible collapse. The rhizome as a concept devised by Deleuze & Guattari (1987) presents as a more fruitful value as it has no restrictions on form.

Elsewhere, writing on affect's transmission, Teresa Brennan (2004) orients her focus on the individual human body and groups. She argues for biochemical, physiological and neurological changes to the body which emanate from one's exposure to an affective atmosphere. Importantly, Brennan lays out her formulation as one emanating from social processes but having biological manifestations. She adds that "the emotions or affects of one person, and the enhancing or depressing energies these affects entail, can enter into another" (p.3). In this sense, the centrepiece in

her theorising is the human body as it is the site where the effects of affects can be read. While the notion of transmissibility is useful where corporeal bodies are concerned, it however falls short where materials and objects constitute part of the setting. Materials are also part of the social. Forum (2006) adds that Brennan's assertion that affects are transmitted by smell is contentious. In addition to their criticism, I find her insights limiting especially when the scale is wide. How, for example, do we account for smell-induced transmission of affect as Brennan would like us to think, in situations such as where there is political change? Moreover, as I recount in the methodology chapter (Chapter 4), even within local spaces, transmission does not afford us many insights on why some bodies do not experience affectation when exposed to atmospheres that are supposedly affective.

I must point out nonetheless that although Brennan focuses on effects on the body from atmospheres, she is aware that 'we are not self-contained in terms of our energies' (p.6) and therefore possibilities for a more expansive reading and working of affect exist. Anderson (2009) intervenes with a phenomenological thinking of affective atmospheres where they 'belong to the perceiving subject'. In this perspective, the body is availed as a site where affects in circulation can pass through and register the type of atmosphere at hand. Importantly, he builds his thinking on Böhme's atmospheres which are diffuse (Riedel, 2019). Understood from such perspectives, affective atmospheres can circulate in transnational spaces. Although not adopting Anderson's phenomenological influences, the study recognises the usefulness of atmospheres in affective ties as they play out within SIT's local branches and more broadly among migrants in transnational spaces.

Where transmission falls short in capturing motion of affects across non-human bodies, trajectories is extended as a useful way of thinking through such challenges. Affective trajectories "are pathways through space-time in which affects, emotions, and sentiments are mobilized simultaneously and in co-constitutive ways" (Dilger et al., 2020, 15). In addition,

> Affective trajectories are therefore mutually interconnected series of emplacements whereby the networks between people, religious forces, and material places are constantly established, dissolved, and remade (p.15).

Trajectories in networks is consistent with the vectors that Wise & Velayutham (2017) employ as a concept to highlight direction and intensity of affect. In their reading, affects "are directed vis-à-vis transnational social fields" through various materials and channels. Such theorising of transnational affects sheds like on the ties and even qualitative nature of connections in networks.

Thinking about circulation of affect has also led to formulations of affective economies. I attend to these in Chapter 3 as I formulate my theoretical frames. At this point, suffice to state that affective economies have been widely deployed from Norbert Elias to Saba Mahmood and Sara Ahmed among others. They are understood through feminist/queer lens, sociological prisms, and political frames.

While the literature considered so far has addressed circulation of affect in both local and transnational spaces, it does not claim to specifically attend to transnational affect(s). The scholarship on affective geographies and geographies of emotion recognises circulation, movement exchange, flows and shared affects and emotions as, on one hand, embodied and socially dispersed (Cole & Groes, 2016; Davidson & Milligan, 2004; Paasonen, 2018; Rudnyckyj, 2011), and on the other, structurally and institutionally constructed (Navaro-Yashin, 2012). Emotional geographies allude to the spatial distribution of emotions either through events, memory, virtual contact, and the media. In this sense, multiple connections and forms of binding are revealed. These multiple connections have drawn researchers on affect to consider transnational affect(s).

In the cultural turn, and writing on transnational affect, Amanda Wise and Selvaraj Velayutham define affect as

> "the circulation of bodily affects between transnational subjects and between subjects and symbolic fields. These evoke certain emotions, in turn creating qualitative intensities which produce vectors and routes, thus intensifying belonging to and boundaries of transnational fields" (Wise & Velayutham, 2017, p.121).

While I agree with the definition offered, I also wish to extend my gaze in at least two directions. The first relates to conceptions of the body. In Wise & Velayutham's

(2008, 2017) scholarship, the chief concern is with corporeality. I extend this perspective by considering corporeal bodies as well as the corporate. More precisely, I embrace the theological conception of the church being the body of Christ[14]. In this sense, the body is both physically separate and religiously/spiritually united. This then allows me to consider how affect is circulated across space and time between members of the church via the church. I do not neglect the corporeal because "the body is the source of space" where power contests and forms of discipline play out (Knott, 2010). The second direction which I take in furtherance of the definition above is inserting greater emphasis of the Spinozan conception of affect. In other words, while I also recognise affect partly through emotional shows, I differ from Wise and Velayutum in the sense that I am more concerned with a more expansive reading of affect. In taking such a stance, I am aware of the rich scholarship around migration and emotions (Boccagni & Baldassar, 2015; Escandell & Tapias, 2010; Skrbiš, 2008) or emotional geographies which has revealed diverse emotionl ties across real and imagined spaces.

In addition to Wise & Velayutham (2006, 2017), transnational affect has been explored as a mechanism to foster solidarity (Johnson, 2020), as means to do politics (Pedwell, 2014; Russo, 2017), and as forms of relational transnationalism (O'Connor, 2010). Ordinarily, this scholarship builds on various strands of prior scholarship and sheds light on the social productivity of transnational affects. For example, in discussing digital connectivity among Somali migrants, Leurs (2014) argues for a 'transnational affective capital' which is a form of capital that 'may advance ontological security, though it may also have adverse consequences, and affectivity is highly ambivalent'. Leurs adds that transnational affective capital draws on Bourdieu's distinction of types of capital, implying that while it might intersect with other forms of capital, it also bears a form of its own. The transnational affective ties that I explore reveal much more than changes in bodily states to highlight how bodies interact and derive socially productive meanings. For this reason, we turn to affect's interplay with religion, transnationalism, and Pentecostalism.

[14] Drawn from 1 Corinthians 12:27

2.3.2 The religious connection: Transnationalism, Affect, and Pentecostalism

The following sections turn to and engage debates within the transnationalism field around meanings of community and religion. Transnational space is the broad site for transmission, circulation, networking and sharing of affect. As already noted in the discussion on transnational space, notions of community are stirred due to the multiple transnational ties within groups. Religion in general and Pentecostalism in particular avail these ties and, in this study, formed the specific arenas where affective ties were explored.

How then can this area be productively excavated? Scholarship on transnational religion offers useful entry points from which affective ties can then be explored through concepts such as community and solidarity. Let us briefly explore these literatures.

2.3.2.1 Transnational religion, Pentecostalism and affects

The religious formation and membership that is studied here is located within a transnational religious field. Transnational religion suggests religious connectedness across states. Writing in the American context, Levitt (2003) suggests that the 'same global religious institution is organised very differently in local contexts, making different kinds of demands on its immigrant members' (p. 869). The different forms of organising are (a) extended (b) negotiated and (c) recreated. In this typology, Levitt takes note of churches which adhere to consistent forms of organisation across various regions (extended), those which alter some aspects of their organisation (negotiated) as well as those which show marked deviation from organisation (recreated). While this typology is useful, it is not easily applicable as one of the examples she uses reveals: the Catholic Church has struggled to maintain a consistent form of organisation due to the Pentecostal and charismatic movement's influence (Gooren, 2012; Lado, 2009). Transnational religion at individual, local and institutional levels, is clearly much more complex than the organisational forms/types would suggest.

Gertrud Hüwelmeier and Kristine Krause have edited an excellent compilation of mobile religions which also includes contributions by scholars with interest in

Pentecostalism on the African continent. While the mobility of religions and spirits is not confined to Pentecostalism (see for example Drotbohm, 2010; Fjelstad, 2010), the chapters which attend to Pentecostalism reveal various expressions of Pentecostal life on the continent. Through the lens of Pentecostal prophets' practices and services to believers, Daswani (2010) considers the ubiquity of Pentecostal prophetic technologies even prior to migration. In Ghana where migration to western destinations is attempted at a cost, the role of the prophet is heightened as their expertise and charisma is sought after to influence mobility.

Pentecostalism in Africa is almost ubiquitous particularly in parts of West Africa as well as in Southern Africa. Much of the proliferation is due to migration (Adogame, 2013; Anderson, 2006). It is not just mere movement of individuals across geopolitical boundaries but movement of churches as well. In fact, migration on the continent has resulted in the export of a largely west-African brand of Pentecostalism led by such churches as Synagogue Church of All Nations (SCOAN), Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), Mountain of Fire Ministries (MFM) and Loveworld Incorporated/Christ Embassy Church. Not only have some of these churches spread across their region but they have presence in some parts of the western world leading to suggestions that reverse missionisation is afoot despite its contested form and meaning (Morier-Genoud, 2018). The proliferation of Pentecostalism is also well captured in its presence on various media platforms, in small churches strewn across the globe as well as "mega churches" which have presence both in the global north and south (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Ugba, 2006; Ukah, 2011).

Theoretically, various connections among transnational Pentecostal groups have been established. Network theory embraces ties which migrants may have in two or more countries (Schüler, 2008; Voigt-Graf, 2004). Schüler (2008) suggests a move from network theory to conceiving transnational Pentecostalism as a phenomenon in 'third space'. His proposition is that Pentecostals are part of an imagined community which has a heavenly home. This putatively means that they are sojourners on earth, an imagined migrant community who are not identified by duality. Although useful for revisiting the meanings of space among transnational Pentecostals, the place of a third space in prosperity gospel, a cornerstone of

modern-day Pentecostalism, is partially obscure. In other words, there are tensions between Schüler's (2008) detached migrants who live in imagined communities and Pentecostal theology whose adherents assert their dominion on earth while claiming rewards in heaven. Moreover, the imagined communities concept is extracted from Benedict Anderson (1991) whose broader argument concerns nationalism. For transnational studies, the methodological nationalism criticism re-surfaces. While the imagined form is contested, what I do not dispute is that migrants and their religions of choice are mobile.

Martin Lindhardt is less concerned with mobility. Arguing for a more emotionally and affectively attuned research agenda, he opines that "Habermas proposes a rather disembodied understanding of the public sphere whereas scholars of religion in Africa and elsewhere have plead for an approach that foregrounds its sensory, aesthetic and ambient dimensions" (Lindhardt, 2014, p.20). Although considerable scholarship has produced work which plugs the gap on embodied religion in African publics (Meyer, 2011) there remains room for more exploration of material and sensory connectivities in religion across transnational African public spaces. Asamoah-Gyadu (2010) offers a brief on spiritual emotional connections but his focus is on African migrants in Europe. Admittedly, new research is emerging to fill some dimensions of these empirical gaps (for example Turner, 2021) but it is seldom committed to epistemological questions that directly engage emotions and affect literatures.

As far as transnational Pentecostalism and emotions in Africa are concerned, David Garbin (2018) and Rafael Cazarin's (2018) work is very instructive and exceptional. Their scholarship respectively considers an African Initiated Church (AIC) and a Pentecostal church in Spain. AICs lack the imprint of the charismatic movement or prosperity gospel churches. As such, the Kimbanguisim which Garbin considers, differs from Pentecostalism in some textures such as confronting urbanity and prosperity in African cityscapes. The compilation edited by Hansjorg Dilger (2020) tries to address this with contributions attending to South Africa and Zimbabwean migrant religious formations. Yet, while it incorporates affect in its theoretical armoury, there remain areas for research such as the imbrication of Pentecostalism with the social and economic fabric of urban South Africa. Similarly, although

Cazarin's (2018) work is enriching, I find the use of sentiment constraining and the largely narrative approach limiting. The poststructuralist tenor of communities of sentiment limits analyses to language and discourse; practice is afforded little room to shed light on how communities of sentiment are *performed*. However, in making my critique, I recognise the value of Cazarin's concept as it opens up transnational space as a discursively vibrant terrain which facilitates the communal sharing of sentiments. Such sharing of sentiments is evident in teachings and doctrines within religious organisations.

In this study, one way in which transnational relations are maintained in Pentecostal circuits is through mechanisms such as covering theology (see Chapter 7). From Moore (2003), covering theology entails the shepherding of members principally by an elite group of leaders in a religious movement. Multiple layers of leaders shepherd their subordinates (or disciples as they are identified in the movement) with each layer performing a shepherding role over those layers below it. As such, a hierarchy is formed where a supreme shepherd(s) leads everyone else. Drawing on two excerpts in Moore's book, I recognise the translocal and affective possibilities which covering theology activates.

> The movement taught that submission to a shepherd provided spiritual 'covering' by being in right relationship to God's delegated authority in the church. The shepherd assumed responsibility for the well-being of his sheep (Moore, 2003, p.74).

> Believers were not to be casual church participants who simply attended meetings. Each believer was a vital participant in the church. Relationship was the key word. To be involved in church meant to have a vital relationship, first with a shepherd, and then with other believers. The goal was for the development of committed relationships in which believers found 'identity and function' in the Body (Moore, 2003, p.59).

Covering or the shepherding movement were not confined to place but worked on a relational principle. That is, so long as one was relationally connected to a shepherd, they were under the shepherd's spiritual covering irrespective of their location. As Chapter 7 will show, this means that a transnational spiritual connection can be held, sustained, and even maintained. It also implies that the shepherd can move followers individually or corporately.

2.3.2.2 Transnational community and solidarities

Transnational settings are animated by people who engage in social activities. They consist of communities which are derived from broader national communities. They combine the global with 'different hubs' at macro, meso and micro scales (Bruneau, 2010). The formation of transnational communities stems from prevailing and past economic, social and cultural ties with a host country (Portes, 2000). Nell (2004) adds that transnational community hinges on a 'we feeling', that forms out of notions of trust and loyalty.

Added to this scholarship is a reading of transnationalism through social movement theory by Martin Sökefeld. Transnational diasporic communities are construed as imagined communities which do not necessarily emerge out of migration but can surface from previously obscure communities forming an identity over a new common issue (Sökefeld, 2006). I find the concept of imagined communities useful in engaging the scholarship on Zimbabwean migrants because there are some political bodies which identify with an imagined state. Mthwakazi is one such prominent formation with active presence online as well as in South Africa (Mhlanga & Mpofu, 2017). For the purposes of the study, imagined communities is also productive as it evokes imagined homes which Pentecostals identify with in their envisioned futures. In theological terms, Pentecostals are sojourners on this planet and therefore imagine a better place in heaven in the future and a dominion on earth in their life as 'born again'. In practise, the Pentecostals in this study imagine an institutional home in Gweru, Zimbabwe – a home which was under construction during the period of the research. In both cases, there are affective connections which play out across space. In spite of the value offered, I am also wary of reifying this concept. After all, the religious organisation, friends, family, and locales are not imagined. Real ties exist of differing qualitative value. As such, real connections exist which might be tinged by a degree of expectation and imagination but remain real, nonetheless.

Besides community which evokes stability and homogeneity, my interest lies in solidarity in general and affective solidarity in particular. Solidarity unravels inconsistencies and uncertainties in groups (Bähre, 2007). Within migrant communities, uncertainty leads to solidarity as 'exchange conditions under

conditions of uncertainty creates stronger bonds among participants than that which takes place with full information and impartially enforced rules' (Portes, 2008, p.258). In other words, when migrants find themselves in uncertain and precarious circumstances, such scenarios provide ample fodder for drawing closer together which would not be the case where resources and information were all adequately provided.

Within transnational contexts, 'transnational or networked solidarity always involves feelings and actions directed towards particular others' (Bayertz, 1999b, p.30). More precisely, instead of "others", Kurt Bayertz clarifies that 'one is not "solidary" with just anybody, but only with the other members of the particular community to which one believes oneself to belong' (Bayertz, 1999a, p.4). My reading within the context of SIT is that one is most inclined towards forming solidarities with fellow members. However, the SIT members are also members of a broader migrant group in which they can establish other forms of solidarity. Resultantly, I tap into the scholarship on transnational solidarity that invokes the concept of networks (Krunke & Petersen, 2020) which may be group-binding or overlapping (Gould, 2020). Importantly, 'transnational or networked solidarity always involves feelings and actions directed towards particular others (whether individuals or groups)' (Gould, 2020, p.31). This opens possibilities of forming solidarities with overlapping others; solidarities which include affective bonds.

With regards to the formation of affective solidarities, Claire Hemmings (2012) has suggested that they do not solely stem from positive affects but can equally derive from affective dissonance. In this sense, negative affects do not immediately translate to fracturing of ties. Negative affects can elicit solidarity just as positive affects can fail to inspire sustainable solidarities. In her analysis of solidarity in a human rights framework, Carol Gould recognises the dynamism of solidarity, asserting that

> [w]e can first of all put aside the idea that a norm of transnational solidarity would require that one feel and act supportively toward all individual human beings worldwide, or even toward all those who need help in fulfilling their human rights (Gould, 2007, p.55)

For Gould (2007), transnational solidarity hinges on

1. a disposition to act toward others who are recognised as different from oneself, by way of being differently situated.
2. affective ties of care or concern

The above conceptions of solidarity invoke Bayertz's (1999) four uses of solidarity; the four are in relation to morality, society, liberation and welfare. My focus is on affective solidarity which plays out in religious arenas, largely because of the study scope which primarily attends to transnational Pentecostalism, a subset of the transnational religion field.

2.4 The context: Migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa

In this section I present the context in which SIT and its members have migrated and settled in South Africa. I do this by briefly tracing recent histories of migration especially after the Government of National Unity of 2009. I recognise longer histories but will not delve into their details in terms of causes, processes, and consequences (for detailed analyses, see: Crush et al., 2012; Crush & Tevera, 2010; McGregor, 2009). A largely conspicuous aspect in these two epochs is movement of religious groups even though churches such as Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa/Forward in Faith (ZAOGA/FIF) and numerous African Initiated/independent Churches were spreading out into the region and beyond (Maxwell, 1998, 2006; Ranger, 1986). Evidently, many people migrated as a result of challenging conditions in Zimbabwe and in their emigration, 'carried, as hand baggage, traits of their religious and cultural identities with them' (Adogame, 2013, p.61). The accoutrements that migrants carry and maintain were of particular interest to this study as they reveal affective connections.

2.4.1 Zimbabwean migrants: A transnational collective?

As a final act in thinking about transnationalism, I situate the concept within the Zimbabwean migrant population in South Africa. I find this necessary given the complexities surrounding transnationalism as a concept, social formation, cultural group, and a polity. To start off my discussion, I pose a rhetorical question. Are Zimbabwean migrants transnationals or do they constitute a different class? Commencing with such a question engages with the question of what the study offers

empirically in addition to marking out the conceptual terrain on which I build. It also enables me to avoid imposing an identity on a group which might not necessarily have the relevant qualities to be identified as such. In this breath, an equally provocative departure point from which to begin is Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni's (2009) question "do Zimbabweans exist?". If transnationalism is premised on the nation as a reference point, and the Zimbabwean **nation** is contested, what conceptual use then does transnationalism offer? Moreover, how then can the Zimbabwean migrant collective be construed as a cohesive unit? I argue that in harnessing affect as a theoretical frame, the single communitarian perspective is avoided at least as a conceptual term. Community suggests cohesion and mutual interest. Yet, not only is Zimbabweanness contested, but a cohesive religious sense of community also stands trial.

Zimbabweans are not a homogeneous group and Zimbabweanness is not given. People from Zimbabwe may identify with the country on many levels. Some identify with the nation-state, others with their specific locales (Ndlovu, 2010) and yet others may identify with an imagined notion of the Zimbabwean nation(s). In this respect, the nation Zimbabwe serves as a descriptive starting point from which to understand the nuanced nodes of connectivity which migrants in the study share. However, I must also emphasise that when viewed by other groups in South Africa, the primary point of reference is the nation-state where one comes from. In other words, foreigner as a category is explicitly directed at non-South African nationals regardless of whether they identify with their nation or not. To some segments of the host society, the nation is a primary frame of reference as the literature on xenophobia suggests (Crush et al., 2013; Hayem, 2013; Trimikliniotis et al., 2008)[15]. In sum, Zimbabweans are a transnational group although the levels upon which they identify vary. This applies to religious adherents in the migrant population.

Having identified the meanings of transnationalism, noted the transnationality of Zimbabwean migrants and indicated that religious transnationalism applies to the

[15] I hasten to add that although xenophobia targets non-South Africans, because of its wanton nature, South Africans are also at times caught up as victims in some instances with fatal consequences. See: (Neocosmos, 2006; Mosselson, 2010; Hickel, 2014). Nonetheless, the fact that nationality and autochthony politics are the discourse in which belonging is framed suggests that one's place of origin is a key criterion for acceptance.

study, I now turn to post-2012 migration context in the Zimbabwe-South Africa corridor.

2.4.2 Migration post-GNU and ZDP

In 2009, a political landmark was reached when Zimbabwe's major political protagonists agreed to form a government of national unity (GNU). This had important implications not only for the economy, social service delivery and easing of political tensions but for the migrants as well. Just as had happened in 1980, some Zimbabweans abroad began to discuss and consider prospects of return. McGregor & Pasura (2014) provide a detailed analysis of the diverse interests and general positions assumed by migrants in the United Kingdom during this time of contemplation. Generally, while there was an opportunity to openly engage with government, efforts to woo the migrants achieved a lukewarm response. The history of hostility with ZANU PF appeared to have done well to keep many Zimbabwean migrants suspicious. Moreover, some special interest groups such as asylum seekers lobbied for their partisan positions which were *contra* return. It is important to note that as invitations for migrants to return home were sent out in formal channels, it is skilled migrants who appeared to be the main targets of messages. Online platforms such as 'www.comebacktozimbabwe.com' and 'www.zimbabwehumancapital.com' targeted highly skilled professionals for recruitment. Save for passing remarks from officials or calls for return in the aftermath of waves of xenophobic violence in South Africa in 2008 and in 2015, hardly any attention was afforded to the broader mass of poor and lowly-skilled emigrants. Perhaps there is a logical justification for the government's limited/selective focus, but the inaction may prove yet another missed opportunity to establish cordial relations with the migrant population. As migration researchers such as Bloch (2006) have noted, in addition to being generally well educated, many Zimbabwean migrants have pursued studies in their host countries, attaining new skills in the process. This has transpired in spite of evidence of underemployment and deskilling (McGregor, 2007). With an unattractive social, economic environment in Zimbabwe characterised by widespread vulnerability and poverty, high levels of

food insecurity in urban areas (Tawodzera et al., 2012), and corruption,[16] emigration to traditional destinations has persisted. South Africa was one such destination.

2.4.3 Precarity in Johannesburg and Pretoria

South Africa's Gauteng province is a major recipient of local and international migrants with Johannesburg and Pretoria serving as principal attractions. Since the year 2000, the key drivers of migration to South Africa have been economic and political. Taking after Saba Mahmood I choose to consider migrant life in South Africa as characterised by innovation and enterprise. This lens disavows a fatalistic narrative which paints migrants as victims. Secondly, I considered precarity as a condition which migrants contend with and have tried to emigrate from. This is not a contradiction as the numerous contributions in *Healing and Change in the City of Gold* demonstrate (Hamber et al., 2015). Moreover, the two are equally central themes in the lives of Pentecostals who rely on faith to assert themselves in a world characterised by uncertainty.

In addition to concerns over security in urban South Africa, researchers also attend to precarity and uncertainty with a rich body of work focusing on migrants (Palmary et al., 2015). Johannesburg entices domestic and international migrants with promises of wealth. Yet it also harbours numerous uncertainties and disappointments which can be encountered right from the onset of one's arrival (Worby, 2010) or in the pursuit and execution of everyday life (Wafer, 2015; Zulu & Wilhelm-Solomon, 2015).

2.5 Conclusions

The chapter has largely engaged the literature on transnationalism and affect while also invoking Pentecostalism. Starting off with a brief consideration of affect, the chapter then threaded in transnationalism and Pentecostalism. The chapter identified two key strands of affect scholarship. While noting the shortcomings of the Tomkins school, I have nonetheless acknowledged that it can complement

[c]orruption seldom culminates in apprehension and conviction of suspects. Mere lip service and crafting of publicity statements are the common responses. For example, in February 2016, the head of state Mr Robert Mugabe announced that US$15 billion had been siphoned out of the economy; this happening in an economy with a US$4 billion budget in 2015 (http://3-mob.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/2015-National-Budget.pdf). Hardly any effort has been made to address the 'disappearance' of the money.

Spinoza's particularly in exploring emotional aspects of religion within religious settings. Resultantly, I acknowledged my deployment of affect largely in Spinozist frames, recognising it as complex relations between bodies of various form which culminate in some aspect within and between the bodies being moved.

Affect's shortcomings were also considered before turning to the scholarship which has demonstrated how it can be deployed in a geographic sense, in general religion, in Pentecostalism and with affect. Through these discussions, the chapter indicated how SIT becomes inserted into the transnational field with affect threading through bodies of members and the church as a body. Having considered the conceptual approaches, the chapter then turned to the question of just how transnational Zimbabwean migrants are. In locating Zimbabwean migrants as transnationals, a closer look at the context in which migration has transpired and social conditions of migrancy were presented. After locating the transnationality of the Zimbabwean migrant community and the church which forms the centrepiece of the study, we now turn to conceptual approaches which served as a compass and map from inception to completion.

Chapter 3: Economies of affect: a conceptual framing

> *The supposed indescribability of affect—its nondiscursiveness, its immediacy—only fuels our attempts to describe it. But despite our best efforts, our theories of affect always appear to be lacking something. They might seem somehow incomplete or inadequate or they might not match up with other scholars' accounts of the same phenomenon…* (Grant, 2018, p.50)

3.1 Introduction

The progressive thinking and theorising of affect has created a story of shifts from abstract philosophy to empiricism and back to philosophy via neuroscience. Naturally, the terrain is expansive and beyond the scope of this study. What this chapter attends to are the conceptions that resonate with economies of affect or affective economies. Even then, attention is primarily afforded to how the study engages with the conceptions. Thereafter, the study's deployment of concepts is articulated, revealing augmentation and contestations with the available scholarship. Recognising the difficulty captured in Roger Grant's quotation above, I situate my work within contemporary discourses and conceptions of affect in the 'affective turn'. I eschew a wholly intersubjective reading of affect, opting instead to harness the Spinozan reading which is corporeal and also more-than-human.

My argument in the chapter is carved around the circulation and productive working of affect, which I engage through the concept of economies of affect. Contrary to the conceptions which have so far been deployed, I refrain from thinking through my economy via political economy frames, but instead adopt a more expansive application of economy drawn from the Athenian concept of economy or *oikonomia* (via oikos) which was social, political, and environmental. In doing so, and within Pentecostal settings, I consider affective economies as expansive social relations characterised by production and exchange of affect to reveal bonds and fractures within social space. In the study, the economies of affect manifest in the church, between the church and other organisations and between church members and non-members.

Before detailing the concepts, I must emphasise that my discussion of affect does not follow psychoanalytic scholarship and related fields because of their limited focus of affect on the human subject (as opposed to bodies in their broader

meaning). As such, scholars such as Sigmund Freud, and Henri Bergson fall outside this chapter's focus.

3.2 Affect in the study context

Writing on Christianity, politics, and culture, Harri Englund (2011) notes that 'the reduction of religion to a cognitive disposition inevitably diminishes both its practical import and its imaginative resources" (p.8). Religion is not just a cognitive engagement and affect theory serves as a useful and potent tool to address this gap. As a pre-discursive, precognitive, pre-personal theoretical field (Barnwell, 2018; Massumi, 2002), affect theory engages the conceptual gap through two distinct but not detached routes. The first follows on Baruch Spinoza's thinking via Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari and Brian Massumi. The second follows on the work of Silvan Tomkins — who leans on Darwinian evolutionary science (Schaefer, 2015) – and augmented by the likes of Eve Sedgewick. With such differences of scholarly influence, we must then point out which conceptual path the study follows and why.

In this study, I follow Slaby & von Scheve (2019, p.2) in viewing affect 'not as processes "within" a person, but as social relational dynamics unfolding in situated practices and social interaction'. I further agree with them when they add that

> affect is best understood as dynamic, intensive relations that unfold between human actors, in and with complex environmental settings, material formations, (urban) landscapes and designed spaces, various artifacts, technologies and media' (Slaby & von Scheve, 2019, p.3).

My approach conceives of affect as power-laden, filtering in relationships between bodies; with the powerful often being those persons with high affective capital. In this sense, my thinking is consistent with Margaret Wetherell's (2012) concept of 'affective practice' which she defines as 'the emotional as it appears in social life and tries to follow what participants do' (p.4). In this sense, there is a performativity and practice to affect. Kanai (2017) adds that there is a discursivity to affective practice which can be traced in speech and text. My conception enjoins these readings resulting in practice, and communication co-existing in affective relations/ties between bodies.

Relationships implies common binding and bonding which may be intrapersonal or interpersonal as well as with objects and ideas. In addition, relationships can be intimate or distant. Through such thinking I am able to engage scholars such as Ilana van Wyk (2014), who highlights strangerness in a South African church; I also engage thinkers such as Simon Coleman (2000) who recognises close community in Sweden. In both cases, the social and spiritual relationships between members were explored. However, the relationships that I explore largely through a Spinozian lens are not confined to within the church and among corporeal bodies alone. Instead, I explore richer 'material dimension of relatedness' (Slaby & von Scheve, 2019, p.8). Here I am thinking of the relations among members, the church as a body of Christ[17] and by extension, corporate bodies that interact with the church. Bodies of various kinds relate across complex physical and virtual spaces.

Following Schaefer (2019), I eschew the hard distinction between the two key strands (Spinoza-Deleuze/Guattari-Massumi *versus* Tomkins-Sedgewick), recognising that within the religious arena, affect(s) plays key roles both as potential as well as through emotion. The religious field as sacred space is arguably laden with potential, capacity and forms of intensity which hold promise in the now and for the future. This would fit well with the Massumi-Deleuze-Spinoza tradition. Similarly, religious fields are replete with performances which harness emotion among both the laity and the pastorate, creating emotional geographies (Davidson & Milligan, 2004; Ho, 2009; Thrift, 2004) which connect transnational fields (Sheringham, 2010). Elements of both strands can therefore be deployed simultaneously to explore the experiences of transnational Pentecostals. I, however, find the Tomkinsan scholarship limiting in the sense that in its focus on emotions, it does not go beyond the human body. As such, the more expansive Spinozian reading which incorporates bodies in diverse form (Seyfert, 2012) is more prominent. It is in this frame that I harness economies of affect as a concept that illuminates the variable social relations within a Pentecostal church, their boundedness, their unifying manifestations and fissuring as well as the efforts that are resorted to in nurturing relations. These forms of relations are explored through the concepts of affective community, affective solidarity, and affective curatorship.

[17] Or 'organic bodies' as Tönnies (2001) reveals in a section below.

3.2.1 The social productivity of affect

The set of concepts that I spotlight concern management and circulation of affect in transnational orbits; they highlight corporate and interpersonal productivity of affect, and mobilisation of affect in social arrangements. In recognising the social value of affect, I am in agreement with scholars who affirm that affects circulate, settle and dissipate in transnational religious spaces which are unbounded by geographic or political borders – what have been called 'geosocial spaces' (Mitchell & Kallio, 2017). Put differently, affects are managed and moderated in wide social spaces resulting in unity in some instances, and spurring division in others. This dynamic affective social space constitutes what I deem to be an economy of affect.

3.2.2 Economies of affect

I conceive of economies of affect as affective relations between corporeal bodies and including corporate bodies which yield varying levels of intensity, attachment, and outcomes. Through economies of affect, I will explore how affective ties are co-produced, sustained, fissured, and reinvigorated. Far from being ethereal, nebulous or infra-empirical (Clough, 2008a), I conceive of economies of affect as affective relations (Pedwell, 2014; Slaby & Röttger-Rössler, 2018; von Scheve, 2018) that circulate and have meaning in social webs/groups/networks (Dean, 2010; Hutchison, 2016; Zink, 2019). As socially shared and transacted phenomena, affects are explored through three sub concepts: affective solidarity, affective community, and affective curatorship.

Economies of affect as a concept is not novel but has been deployed by different scholars (Ahmed, 2004; Elias, 2000; Lehmann et al., 2019; Mahmood, 2005; Richard & Rudnyckyj, 2005; Vora, 2010), each relying on different epistemological bases/premises and affording the concept different levels of attention and detail. Nobert Elias' work '*The Civilizing Process*' offers a rich reading of affects and society. Importantly, Elias's (2000) sociological work refers to 'affect-economies' as well as their constituents. Elias reveals shifts in affect which were often registered through the progressive attainment of *civilité* or loosely, civilisation. The relational affective economy that Elias sees mirrors the position that I take in line with other thinkers who see affect in relational terms (Slaby & Röttger-Rössler, 2018; von Scheve, 2018). However, I hasten to add that although Elias deploys language and

tools which hint at affect, his scholarship is not grounded in affect as a theoretical frame as such. The most detailed deployment of the concept stems from Sara Ahmed whose scholarship I will shortly engage below.

My conception of an economy of affect avoids the limiting sense of 'economies' as it is deployed in the economics field. Rather, I draw from the Greek notion of economy (*oikonomia)* through *oikos*, and *nemein* or household economy (Leshem, 2016). In the Greek and Athenian sense, economy was management of the household and other spheres of life such as self, body as well as 'the cosmopolitan sphere' (Leshem, 2013). It also meant personal, natural, political and cosmological economies (Leshem, 2013; Schabas, 2007). In this sense, my conception builds on the subject-oriented, political economy frames relied upon by Ahmed (2004) to encapsulate a wide geo-spatial web of social affective ties. I am also thinking of economy of affect in similar fashion to economies as they are deployed by Richard & Rudnyckyj (2005), that is, relations practised between individuals (and corporates). Importantly, Richard and Rudnyckyj recognise affect as a mechanism for conducting conduct[18] and therefore establish a link to Foucault's governmentality. In this sense, power circulates in an economy of affect through control of relations between bodies. However, instead of focusing on "economic transformations and affective transactions" (Richard & Rudnyckyj, 2005 p.58), I am more interested in local and transnational social, economic, and religious ties. In this sense, I am able to persist with an exploration of broader relational ties.

Power entails decisions over distribution of resources. In the affective economy that I explore, I consider relations as they reveal who distributes love, care, and solace. I therefore trace how affective ties have a bearing on to whom affective resources are distributed and by what mechanisms. This was the sense in which an economy was developed where affective resources (Love, death, compassion, spiritual covering, and care) were shared via mediation (Lehmann et al., 2019) within the church and across a broader migrant community. The circulation of affect in an affective community culminated in instances of affective solidarity and affective curatorship which are all laced with power.

[18] See also Rudnyckyj (2011)

In thinking about power, I invoke Foucault's conception. Although adamant that his lens did not constitute a theory *per se*, power in Foucault's scholarship is understood as capillary (Fraser, 1981); that is, it is manifest in macro structures but inheres across and within micro social arrangements. With specific focus on religious formations, Foucault identifies pastoral power. Situated in the pastorate, clergy or church leaders, pastoral power is affective because it demands that they 'know what goes on in the soul of each one, that is, his secret sins, his progress on the road to sainthood' (Foucault & Carrette, 1999, 143). Drawing from *Security, Territory, Population* (Foucault, 1978), pastoral power is a 'religious type of power that God exercises over his people' (p.170), via a shepherd who exercises it 'over the flock in its movement from one place to another' (p.171), for its benefit and with care 'directed towards others' and not the shepherd himself (p.173). Its caring and salvific tenor coincide with the aspects of curatorship that I explore in the economy of affect. However, contrary to Foucault's power architecture that sees a figure shepherding a flock, curatorship and an economy of affect entail co-production and circulation of affect. Leaders and followers care for and attempt to cure one another albeit with different levels of intensity and formal authority.

Sara Ahmed (2004, 2013) makes a more direct engagement via emotions and in the process highlights affective ties which resonate with Norbert Elias' work. Elias (2000) details how affects constituted the transformation of social practice that witnessed transition from archaic manners to civilisation or *civilité*. He is aware of the historical shifts in behaviour while Ahmed notes that (gendered and racialised) bodies have a 'stickiness' which derives from how they have been portrayed in history. Society progressively shapes, (re)inscribes, and (re)interprets the roles that bodies perform and therefore moralise what they can do. She argues that "[emotions] create the very effect of the surfaces or boundaries of bodies and worlds" (Ahmed, 2004, p.117). She explains this by demonstrating that while fear or anger do not rest in an object/body, its very ability to move is what makes it resonate with some surfaces. When racial bodies are considered for example, the relation between one body and another 'aligns [them] with communities' and establishes sets of feelings and emotions. The bodies then become bound together. In this affective economy, 'affects accumulate value over time' (see also Jarrín, 2017).

I am particularly drawn to Ahmed's deployment of 'economy' which she presents in the following manner:

> I am using "the economic" to suggest that emotions circulate and are distributed across a social as well as psychic field. I am borrowing from the Marxian critique of the logic of capital. In Capital, Marx discusses how the movement of commodities and money, in the formula M-C-M (money to commodity to money), creates surplus value (Ahmed, 2004, p.120).

For Ahmed, circulation of affect can be understood as accumulative, built on "affective capital" and yielding surplus. This is not to suggest that there are no possibilities for disruption but that the mechanism broadly pursues accumulation of surplus. For Jarrín (2017), affective capital is produced through practices which endow the body with desirable features; features which have value and can be converted into other forms of capital –much like Bourdieu's capitals. I agree with the reading that affective capital has social value which is generative of more intensities. I also add that affective capital has value in and of itself, accumulating and being utilised to gain access into communal and private spaces. In other words, affective capital serves as a currency that can be used to gain access in some social spaces. This reading of affective capital finds resonance with Hordge-Freeman's (2015) use of the capital in experiences of love and affection within a 'racialised society'. In my work, the church founder who is widely loved, respected, and recognised as an authority, wields immense affective capital which affords him access into most of the church groups and activities. This contrasts with ordinary members, some of whom cannot even muster enough affective capital to gain sympathy or compassion from the church in times of distress. I am however sceptical about the generation of value that Ahmed suggests and sustains with her logic on capital. Instead of accumulating value over time, I suggest that affect is negotiated. Resultantly, it ebbs and flows. Even among the same set of actors, the capital that is wielded is not cumulative but sometimes diminishes as relational dynamics shift.

Affective capital is therefore a mediating element that has a bearing on how well an affective community forms, how firm affective solidarity becomes and how much vitality affective curatorship draws. In this sense, within economies of affect, affective ties/relations serve as resources or energies which bodies share and which

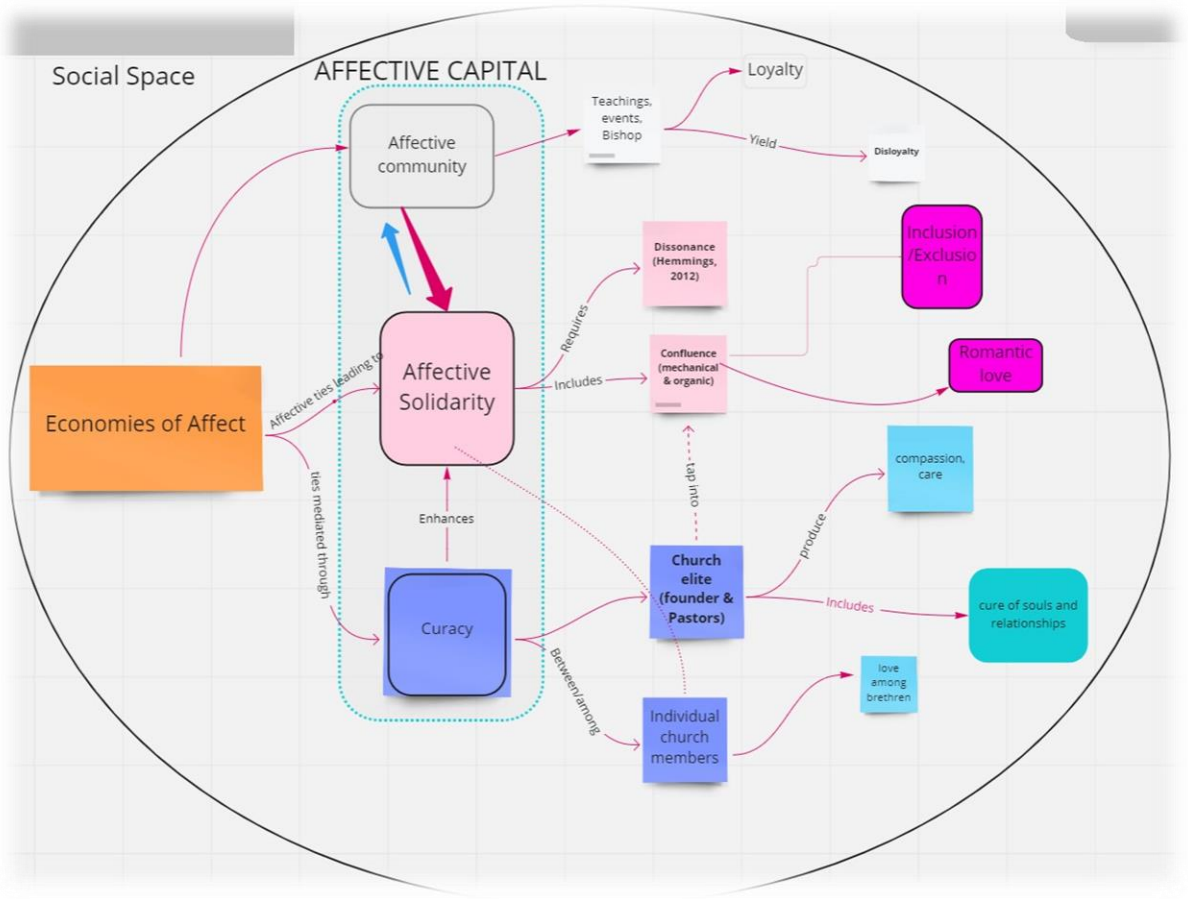
can also be harnessed or modulated to meet immediate and future purposes. As resources, affects bear the possibility of depleting, of being open to exploitation or management while also being diverse in form.

From various interactions and sermons at SIT, the church community was often identified as a family and the church under construction in Gweru, Zimbabwe was identified as a house/home. Pastors and the laity effected stewardship, management and curating of emotions and affects in this house and family. Through theologies such as covering and mediation of affects (Lehmann et al., 2019) via teachings about loyalty (see chapter 5), the bishop was identified as spiritual father who brought the Speakers[19] together. The same teachings demanded responses from congregants, chief of which was loyalty to the church and its founders. This subtle exercise of power was contested resulting in settlements on what were acceptable ways of being loyal and what were not. As such, there was a continuous process of (re)building affective community and affective solidarity.

In the aforementioned social spaces, an economy of affect entails social relatedness (Pedwell, 2014; Slaby & Röttger-Rössler, 2018; von Scheve, 2018, 2018) across private and public, corporeal, and corporate spaces. Conceptually, the economy of affect can be depicted as in the Figure 1 below.

[19] The church members identified as Speakers, which was derived from their membership of Speak in Tongues.

Figure 1: Conceptualising economies of affect



The affective relations that either emerge or are dismantled in social space, culminating in various notions of affective communities which can be productive of solidarity. Affective solidarity is most fruitful when drawn from dissonance as Hemmings suggests. However, within the church under study, social and religious norms also meant that confluence was equally important. In other words, affective solidarity was desired and tapped into from positions of confluence such as loving one another or being loyal to leadership. Curatorship, a technology for curing of souls, had the effect of entrenching solidarities. With community emanating from negotiation and affective solidarity emerging from confluence and dissonance, the church leadership and members both participated in affective curatorship which was a reparative process in managing relationships both within the church as well as among the broader public which the church proselytised to or had loose ties with.

3.2.2.1 Thinking through affective community

Economies of affect comprise of negotiations over affective community which have the potential to yield solidarities among members. Affective community is a potent concept which has been considered in fields such as international relations and race relations.

3.2.2.1.1 From community to affective community: drawing from the classics

Affective community taps into sociological thinking of community which in the main has been attended to as typologies which are indicative of conceptual complexities. The influences and lens are manifold. A starting point is Ferdinand Tonnies' scholarship which has influenced and provoked Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and other Sociology luminaries. Tönnies (2001) deploys *Gemeinschaft* as a concept to identify small, close-knit community which is typified by 'positive mutual affirmation' and enduring for life. In Nisbet (2014) and Brint's (2001) framing, such a collective would be a natural community. Although these typological conceptions are enlightening, they however gloss over community formations that emerge from intersection of variables. That is, one can be born in a community which they then choose to be (or not to be) a part of. Moving away from the types, Neuwirth (1969) suggests that Weber opted for a conception of community based on status, class and political party. Although useful, the conception does little to account for communities which form around much more fluid constructions such as online communities.

The notions of community presented by Tönnies and Weber afford little scope for scenarios where members are neither born in nor choose the collective. Emotional communities (Helm, 2014) avails an intervention to incorporate such forms of community. The concept derives from collective emotions (Scheve & Salmela, 2014) and resultantly draws from Durkheimian scholarship on collective effervescence. Rosenwein (2006) thinks of emotional communities as 'groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value-or devalue-the same or related emotions' (p.2). Such communities are fluid in the sense that they may variably rely on common ancestry/blood (nature as it were) while also constituting elective membership. The imagined distinction in classical scholarship on community

does not always hold. Similar criticism applies in the thinking of communities as 'communities of place' and 'communities of belief' among a broad range of associational styles (Brint, 2001). Here, and especially considering the research agenda in this paper, transnational communities offer a conceptual and real example of the fusion of place and belief. Such communities form over aspirational nationhood, religious affiliation, and spirituality among other factors.

3.2.2.1.2 Current thinking on affective community

Developing affective communities as a concept, Zink (2019, p.289) 'focuses on sensual infrastructures of social encounters and on modes of affective exchange that make up the fabric of the formation and transformation of the social'. Affective community is presented as a social form constituted by finer threads that draw together and change ties. The 'sensual infrastructures' emerge from conscious processes of social interaction, and in the process eschew Brian Massumi's pre-reflexive and pre-cognitive epistemology. Zink's theory draws together sensuality and community, a perspective that I agree with and build upon. However, my thinking suggests that while commonality is a desired outcome from the formation of affective ties, affective community also draws from commonality which forms in 'material' and immaterial ways. In other words, affective community is produced through drawing people around materials and surfaces as well as galvanising people around ideas and ideals. This is especially key in a Pentecostal setting where love constitutes the idealised notion of community membership. However, not all members share or express the form(s) of love that are expected of them.

A community is a collective organisation comprising of individual expressions. Hutchison (2013, 2016) uses trauma as an emotion and affective lens through which to explore affective communities in political contexts. Her structural perspective has received criticism from Meiches (2019) for its dearth in ignoring the body as a site for expressions of trauma. Even as I agree with this criticism, I am also concerned about the conceptual formulation and depth of Hutchison's affective communities. Conceptually, her communities are consigned to those experiencing trauma as victims which is problematic where affectivity is deployed because of the fluid and variable effects on multiple bodies (Alexander, 2004; Giesen, 2015; Hirschberger, 2018). Victims and perpetrators can suffer from trauma as the

scholarship has established. Therefore, the affective communities as portrayed by Hutchison are of limited scope as they attend to victims alone. In noting the conceptual limits, I nonetheless acknowledge that communities do identify with certain affective states and such perspective may be useful even in my thinking of the church as a collective affective body. Some value is retained in deploying of affective community as an expression of bondedness among church members, between members and non-members and in the corporate church body.

A multifaceted conception of affective community is consistent with Da Costa (2016) who discusses a 'veiled' form of racism in Brazil. Veil is used to highlight the 'multilayered intersections between ideology, belief and action that shape racist discourses and practices' (p.31). In this sense, there is resonance with Appadurai's (1990) 'community of sentiment' in the sense that emotions and affects, when affects are understood as relational, are internal and also public gestures. The point that I am belabouring here is that affective community entails dynamic social connections which may have diverse forms of expression. Through management of the body (Rudnyckyj, 2011), 'emotion rules' and 'feeling rules' (Hochschild, 1979, 2003), members of an affective community become bound albeit while demonstrating different expressive forms.

How is affective community expressed? Leila Gandhi's (2006) discussion of 'politics of friendship' offers a glimpse of managing affective community through friendship. As an affective trope, friendship binds sympathetic people in current and former imperial political states to those in the periphery. In this sense, friendship 'categorically defines community as a countermand against social exclusion' (p.19). It generates unity and cohesion which have implications for solidarity. However, other readings of affective community reveal fleeting connections as studies of fandom have suggested (Lamerichs, 2020; McLaren & Jin, 2020). In these settings, the Durkheimian effervescence applies as a collective and cohesive sentiment or fervour. Such community resembles in part, what Rafael Cazarin (2018) has termed 'communities of sentiment' in his scholarship of Pentecostalism. in moments, instances and events where community members converge, the expressivity of affective community is manifest through emotional repertoires (Cazarin & Burchardt, 2020).

Affective communities are not restricted to membership in a primary group such as membership in a church or school. Instead, affective community can include non-members with loose ties to a principal group. Hence, there may be differences in notions of community both within a group and between a group and non-group members. This partly accounts for differences in workings on the body and the self; differences which do not follow a formulaic pattern. Orlando Woods (2021) alludes to this effect through his concept of affective cosmopolitanism which can be both liberating and revealing of constraints on the body. For example, although Woods notes that dancehall is liberating for Singaporean dancers, he also observes that some dancers acknowledged conservatism especially when comparing themselves to Jamaican peers. The point here is that even within groups, affective ties can vary, yielding different commitments and outcomes. I agree with this notion of community which shies from homogeneity but traces the differential connections within a collective.

Contrary to Rosenwein's (2006) emotional communities, affective communities are 'welded together' (Hutchison, 2016) on the basis of shared meaning and sensibility. The implication is that one is not always voluntarily involved but can become caught up in such affective community. Consistent with this gelling of affective community is the thinking that deploys affective atmospheres and Durkheim's concept of collective effervescence. Group members or collectives are caught up, wittingly or unwittingly, in waves that erupt and eventually dissipate during gatherings. Such affectivity may be temporal as happens with events such as sports (McDonald, 2020), or can last longer as can happen with ugly feelings (Ngai, 2004).

3.2.2.1.3 Emergence of an affective community

Community as I employ it using affective frames, does not form out of (pre)defined social materials. It is not deterministic. Rather, the affective community forms from weak and strong affective ties, sense of community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) and the promise of benefits for members. It is therefore both derived from the social contexts in which affective ties are made, as well as produced by members as they interact in local and transnational spaces. In relying on affect, the community is both voluntary and non-subscriptive. Members voluntarily join the church, but they also become part of the church sub-groups through their ability to tap into affective

capital. In the latter case, members do not apply for membership but become so by dint of their affective capital. The bishop for example commands love, affection, loyalty, and respect which enable him to access various subgroups. Ordinary members do not wield such capital but can rely on the capitals that they have to either be subsumed into a sub-group or to form a group of their own. In showing the entrenchment of affective community through declarations, spiritual covering, love, and repeated routine interactions which bolster belief, I then explore how affective solidarity forms and fractures. I further explore the mechanisms deployed to nurture affective relations in the community, ostensibly with the aim of ensuring that ties are sustained. The key concept encapsulating these mechanisms is affective curatorship. For now, we turn to affective solidarity which shares a dialectical relationship with affective community.

3.2.2.2 Cementing communal ties through affective solidarity

Complementing community is affective solidarity. The two are not mutually dependent. Rather, affective solidarity may or may not form where there is affective community implying that in affective solidarity, there are processes 'of associating and dissociating' (Zink, 2019, p.298). In developing affective solidarity, I refer back to Tönnies (2001) whose thinking of community and society, qualified the two as organic community and mechanical society. In this sense, organic community was natural, close-knit, and built on blood ties while mechanical society was much more geographically expansive and developed from elective and political associations. Durkheim used similar conceptual tools in his discussion of solidarity which he divided into organic and mechanical. The affective solidarity that I theorise in this section builds on the widely studied sociological concept of social solidarity (Gofman, 2014; Bayertz, 1999; Smith and Sorrell, 2014) to highlight the affective forms of connectedness and community that emerge from social ties.

In his work on civilisation as a social process, Norbert Elias (2000) suggests that spatio-geographical difference determines affective ties. Numerous scholars have contradicted Elias and developed concepts under the broad rubrics of emotional geographies, economies of care, affective circuits as well as affective trajectories to show that affective ties have wide geographic reach. I also respond to the spatial interest in the scholarship of affect by harnessing affective solidarity as a potent

concept that highlights that beyond connecting bodies, affect enables for formation of either fleeting or sustained relations of support and unity within the church as well as between the church and other communities. I later detail this through SIT's expression of Pentecostalism in transnational affective ties. Affective solidarity enables me to attend to the following concerns:

1. What affective meanings does Pentecostalism have for migrants in the city?
2. How does Pentecostalism (re)define religious, social, and economic boundaries and cleavages between the "born-again" and "unsaved" in an urban setting?

Clare Hemmings (2012) invokes affective solidarity to argue for a feminist politics. Citing sympathy as a potential unifying element, she argues that it poses the challenge of yielding outcomes which diminish solidarity. Being pitied might not have a galvanising effect for an agenda which confronts power hierarchies and architectures. Hemmings' solution is to tap into dissonance which might prove more rewarding in engendering affective solidarity. I agree with Hemmings' analysis as confluence might not always yield solidarity especially when parties concerned are motivated by different agendas and ends. Such possibilities have been signalled by Orlando Woods (2021) who, through 'affective cosmopolitanism', considers the dynamic and dialectical framing of the body and the self. Drawing from such perspectives, within the Pentecostal faith and Christianity in general, I argue that dissonance is unfruitful for affective solidarity. Believers normatively identify as brother's keepers[20] who live under the commandment: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'[21]. They relate as cohesive family consisting of papas, mamas, brothers, and sisters (Emeka-Nwobia, 2020). In such contexts, dissonance is disruptive, leaving affective solidarity to emerge ideally through harmony. When dissonance and fissure surface, the likely results are perceptions, felt senses of disunity, lack of community, disunity, and exclusion.

Because dissonance cannot be completely absent, I suggest that instead of complete collapse in the organisation or a homogenous affective state at all times, members create micro-sites of affective solidarity. These platforms of solidarity can be micro

[20] Genesis 4 v 9
[21] Matthew 22 v 39

communities of a formal or informal nature in which members join and develop forms of attachment. In such a setup, members may remain attached to a loving/unloving, unified/fractured, caring/indifferent organisation because they have varying forms of affective attachment (Resch et al., 2021) through their different groups.

Lastly, using empathy as an example, Clare Hemmings reveals that it [empathy] may not be very useful in establishing solidarity because it generates problematic power relations (cf. Johnson, 2020; Vachhani & Pullen, 2019). Affective solidarity is therefore not necessarily about coalescing around positive affects such as joy, optimism, and love. Rather, referencing Sara Ahmed (2004) on rage, solidarities emerge 'not based in a shared identity or on a presumption about how the other feels, but on also feeling the desire for transformation out of the experience of discomfort, and against the odds' (Hemmings, 2012). As I discuss later on, the laity at SIT did not always find commonality around love and distribution of care, yet they continued to engage as a family. Solidarity within the church was therefore a function of a more systemic management of relations and circulation of affective ties.

So far, I have highlighted the conceptual tools that help to illuminate how social association and grouping as well as intimacy and proximity form within the Pentecostal church. In the following sub-section, I advance affective curatorship as a concept that crystallises the affective interactions within the church, attempting to bolster community and solidarity but also lubricating strained mundane interactions within and beyond the church.

3.2.2.3 Affective curatorship: caring for and curing of bodies and souls

Drawing from the earlier cited affective regenerations (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2020) and scholars who identify healing (Lange, 2020) as well as care (Leurs, 2019; Lynch et al., 2009; Vora, 2010), my work extends the vitality of affect to include care and cure of bodies and souls. Care has social, economic, political and affective significance for 'its own sake and for achieving other goals' (Lynch et al., 2009). Affective curatorship contributes towards answering the questions:

1. What emotional and affective resources do Pentecostal migrants harness in negotiating religious, and social, fields?

2. How do emotions and affects influence boundary-setting and cleavage-formation within local and transnational migrant networks?

I suggest that affective curatorship entails the *production, sustenance, and/or restoration of affective ties between (and within) corporate and corporeal bodies*[22]. Using love, loyalty, and care as prisms that make up affective curatorship, I argue that Pentecostal migrants and the church that they are a part of deploy and rely on curatorship to foster belonging both to a transnational collective as well as to a multifaceted local reality characterised by migrant complexities. Affective curatorship is the caring for and curing of relations, bodies, and souls. Contrary to regeneration which alludes to restoration, curatorship addresses stewardship and positive, wholesome transformation in interpersonal, corporeal-corporate, and spiritual relations. In other words, these relations are not solely between church members but also include relations between members and the church organisation, church leadership and non-members. But how is curatorship affective?

The Oxford Dictionary offers two distinct definitions of curate. The first identifies curate as a noun[23] which bears a religious meaning and the second depicts curate as a verb[24]. Although the managerial and stewardship notions of curating are essential to understanding some of the relations that I explore, I am particularly interested in a more religiously grounded conception of curatorship. This third conception is affective because it attends to care and cure. My deployment is consistent with scholars who consider social curatorship which is designed for "reduction, prevention or elimination" of disorders (Vanková, 2018).

Affective curatorship shares consistencies with curatorship in museum work where it bears elements of selectivity in what is curated and what is excluded from curation. In an eponymously titled article on curatorship as a social practice, Christina Kreps (2003) recognises various criteria for an object's value. These criteria determine what is eventually selected for exhibition even as objects become

[22] My conception differs from Varutti (2023) in the sense that I recognise the power symmetries and asymmetries in relations between bodies. Varutti on the other hand rightly points out that museum management is undergoing processes of curatorship of feelings. I however suspect that this perspective privileges the museum at the expense of consumer power.

[23] To collect, select and present information or items such as pictures, video, music, etc. for people to use or enjoy, using your professional or expert knowledge.

[24] To select, organise and look after the objects or works of art in a museum or an art gallery, etc.

increasingly less central in socially focused museums (Clifford, 2019). The selection function has persisted into the age of a more versatile curator who is experimental and likened to a disc jockey (Fowle, 2007); here, selection of content remains a fundamental aspect of curatorship. By virtue of being one who selects content and one who purges, power flourishes. The point here is that hierarchies are formed which are manifest through the selection and exclusion of what is exhibited, to whom and where. I draw from this reading of curatorship to highlight that in affective curatorship, the bodies that become curated are in some instances selected; in other instances where all corporeal bodies are affected, curatorship might not fully manifest.

Within literary scholarship and in citing Dickens' work, Hooper (2011) considers the portrayal of curators as affective role players who conducted charity work and pastoral care. Warren's (1935) discussion of a cleric from the 15th century, further suggests that a curate was "any priest to whom the cure of souls has been committed". The function of a curate was therefore distinct from contemporary conceptions of managers/management as highlighted by Arlie Hochschild. Serving as a curate meant conducting restitutive functions to souls; a palliative role. That is, it involved **cure** of the laity. At SIT, cure was afforded to the laity in the ordinary course of events, in times of distress during the COVID pandemic and in instances of marital disputes among many other scenarios. Being a curate was a role played by the pastorate in their regular performance of duty as detailed by one senior pastor from SIT who spoke about some of the issues that he attended to. He hinted that

> I think I can list about two or three at the moment. One is the issue depression; many people are generally depressed. And that's what they mentioned that they're depressed, or things are not working out fine or this and that. So, a number of factors that affect that then the second thing that I've realized that usually comes up out of consulting or general conversations that then necessitate you just to mention a word of counsel or comfort is the issue of financial difficulties. So many people are faced with financial difficulties, be lack of salaries or employment or the general issue of life you are working, you are getting a salary in, but it looks like it's not enough. So, you know someone is trying to really employ all the financial intelligence issues you realize people somehow, I think there is this common word "black tax" I've realised that in our circumstances, it's usually a big factor as well, which affects many people [...]. The third one, I think it's that issue of marriages and family life. Yeah. People generally I don't know. It's life...marriage is a problem; either those who are married or those who want to get married [laughs]. *Senior Pastor Dube, 29 April 2020*

Curating was also performed by members as they sought to intervene in situations where colleagues were distressed.

Curating as an activity (that is when considered in its verbal form) is evocative of looking after objects (that is bodies both corporeal and corporate) and ensuring that the affective ties within and between are in sync.

Writing on the role of a curator in an American church context, Karen Ward notes the following,

> In our context, a leader is a "curator" of "open space" where the leadership of baptismal priesthood can be *developed*, *blessed*, and *released*. A curator is one who helps create and maintain an open environment where a community of baptismal priests can participate in God's new creation. Curating is more collaboration with a collective than commanding a brigade. Authority comes not from your "position," but from your *contribution* to your community's wellbeing, your *connection* to the artisan/priests you apprentice, and your inner *cohesion* and integrity, so what you say and what you do in your own life and among those you lead, coheres." (Ward, 2010, p.170)

From the detailed quotation, curatorship involves creating ideal environmental and relational conditions for coherent, communal religious engagement. In this sense, doctrine and the institution play salient roles in curating emotions and managing affects all of which transpire in what I call an economy of affect.

Curatorship as discussed so far, is rather idealised in the sense that it encapsulates cure and care, restoration and revival, purification and purging of the soul. However, in practice, curatorship is fraught with inconsistencies which culminate in success, failure, and stalemates. In my formulation of curatorship, I recognise the practical complexities and add that there is a dynamism, a duality to the concept. In other words, while maintaining that curatorship is affective, it yields different possible outcomes. Curing, caring, drawing bodies close and forging intimate ties can culminate in hurt, disappointment, despair, indifference, rejection, and affective distance.

3.2.3 A summation: How is my approach different?

To start off, Ahmed's economies are primarily concerned with emotions and not affect. This renders her stance a largely subject-oriented approach with limited reach beyond the human body. Affect as has already been discussed, considers the more than human. In addition, Ahmed's approach is primarily concerned with production and surplus value *for accumulation* (expansion of affect/hate in Sara Ahmed's work) while my approach largely attends to management and to a lesser extent, production of affect. The former attends to how emotions are generated in social and political contexts while the latter considers how affects are managed in social contexts. Moreover, if generating a surplus denotes an affective surplus, this creates a conceptual problem given that affects "are not a property…something that I or we have"(Ahmed, 2013, p.11). How then can we be certain that they generate surplus when all they do is circulate and never settle in a body?

Lastly, in drawing from the *oikonomia* my conception leans towards resource distribution **across spheres**. In the classical economy, while a surplus was attained in households, it was not primarily for reinvestment and more production. Rather any surplus was to be distributed in other civic activities such as leisure and supporting the *polis* (Schabas, 2003, 2007).

3.2.4 Reading economies of affect empirically

Having outlined how I conceive of and deploy affect and economies of affect, I wish to briefly point out the complexities of tracing the concepts in practice (I attend to this in greater length in Chapter 4). As already suggested, researchers have deployed affect using various conceptual frames. Resultantly, the measures of affect have also varied with scholars framing affect through grief, anxiety, anger, the biblical seven deadly sins (Brennan, 2004) tension, pleasure and elation (Russell & Barrett, 1999) anger (von Scheve, 2018) intransigence, compulsion, and accident (Schaefer, 2015). A lot of scholarship has adopted Arlie Hochschild's (1979, 2003) work to explore affect through regulation of bodily feeling and behaviours (Caprara & Steca, 2006; Fadil, 2009; Kay Hoang, 2010; Rudnyckyj, 2011; Vora, 2010). In sociological and feminist scholarship, Norbert Elias, Sara Ahmed, and Saba Mahmood provide rich work which deploys civilisation/*civilité*, fear, and Islamic femininity as affective terrains. Drawing on the latter body of scholarship and reading affect as relational,

I explore circulation of love, sorrow/grief, covering, and loyalty within the church *as an institution* and the church *as a community of autonomous bodies*. In this sense, I stretch notions of the body beyond the corporeal and object/material to institutional and corporate.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed affect from a theoretical standpoint, in contrast to emotions as well as in the conceptual form which I will employ in the study. In discussing my conceptual deployment of affect, I have briefly hinted at affect's deployment in the social sciences where two approaches dominate. In detailing these two, Benedict Spinoza's and Sylvan Tomkins', I have shown how Spinoza's tradition offers more practical and theoretical usefulness in this study. I detailed how my thinking is consistent with insights offered by researchers who have noted affect as relational. While agreeing with many of the leading thinkers in the domain, I have nonetheless hinted at how my framing extends conceptions of affect relationally. Instead of approaching corporeal and corporate bodies as markedly distinct, I embrace both as they feed off one another. In a Pentecostal collective, individual bodies also retain value as components in the body of Christ. As such, the relational ties that I find interest in intersect between the individual and collective. I have also noted that within my economies of affect, relational ties are understood from the secondary conceptual lens: affective community, affective solidarity and affective curatorship. The first two largely address the corporate ties while the last concept is predominantly focused on individuals. However, because the concepts are interconnected, I suggest that they best be understood as components of the broader economies of affect which bind the local and transnational. Having presented my theoretical moorings, I turn to the methodological orientation that the study took.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Sociological explanations ultimately given for a set of behaviors are not likely to be completely understood by those studied; even if they prove understandable, subjects may not agree with or accept them, perhaps because they have been placed in a category they do not like or because elements of their behavior they prefer to keep hidden have been made public (Denzin, 1978, p.11).

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I address the methodological approach employed in the study. Importantly, I justify the approach and connect it to the theoretical ground on which the study is built. The affective theoretical moorings of the study do not only determine how the study is designed but, have significant implications for how the researcher related to various aspects of the process. This is because affect as capacity implies that the researcher is just as central in the field as other actors. In other words, the tension between researcher-as-participant and participant-as-researcher is stretched, culminating in the researcher as a co-emitter of data. In such a setting, the question that remains becomes, to what extent is the data generated by a researcher impactful on a study such as this? As the quotation at the beginning of the chapter suggests, research involves a complex web of constructions, narratives, sentiments, emotions, opinions, and positions which must be scrutinised. Even after scrutiny, complete agreement with findings and analyses may prove elusive as Denzin (1978) indicates above. After starting with the design, the chapter will also address method, justifications, and implementation of the study.

4.2 Research design

On Sunday 3 March 2019, I made my way from my residential place in Brixton to Newtown, a distance of five kilometres. I had set out to visit Speak in Tongues (SIT), a church whose existence I was aware of but had never attended in Zimbabwe or anywhere else. I thought nothing of my visit especially having spent the past few weeks attending different Pentecostal churches just to get a sense of the atmospheres. In Brixton, I had attended Loveworld Ministry which is more popularly known as Christ Embassy on a Sunday. The following Sunday I had visited Faith Hill, a Pentecostal church in Braamfontein. Brixton was a neighbourhood characterized

by some dilapidating buildings which mostly housed African migrants and appeared congested. Indeed, the student accommodation where I stayed hosted about 18 students many of which occupied “rooms” which were no bigger than three and half metres long and 2 and half metres wide. Braamfontein was much closer to the inner city and hosted students and young professionals together with numerous businesses. The experiences from both churches had struck me as markedly different. Christ Embassy felt choreographed. At Faith Hill, I had been struck by the small size of the congregation and then unsettled by the urbane “vibe”. Now making my way to SIT, I was not sure of what to expect.

Upon arrival, I was immediately struck by the silence at the building supposedly housing the church. The lack of noise (loud music, singing or prayer) suggested to me that this was not an area populated by a church of the Pentecostal ilk. There was no audible singing or loud prayer as is common among Pentecostal churches (Goh, 2008; Meyer, 2011). To compound to my immediate concern was the lack of signage outside the multi-storey building where the church was meant to be located. The lack of signage was also evident inside the building lobby area. Convinced that I was lost, I stepped outside and walked around looking for what I suspected would be a place befitting of and feeling like a Pentecostal church location. Eventually, I returned to the building and checked for the church name on the floor occupancy listings. Having established that I was indeed in the right building and the church was on an upper floor, I then proceeded to the floor on which the church was located. Here, I was met by a small sign indicating the direction to turn towards — presumably because there was another church on a different wing of the same floor. Although the sign may be useful in some instances, my ear was now drawn to music sung in a language common to Zimbabwe such as isiNdebele or chiShona. Having made my way inside and still anticipating that my expectations would be unmet, I was surprised to discover that many proceedings inside the church mirrored proceedings at Believers' Loveworld Inc/Christ Embassy where I had made a few visits to acquaint myself with Pentecostal practises. When the time to introduce oneself as a visitor was announced, I quickly obliged and was warmly welcomed by some church leaders and members. In reflecting on this instance, I could not help but notice that with a change in setting, a change in the way I connected with the people and the place, I was now comfortable to interact freely yet moments earlier

had been circumspect and even convinced that I had made a terrible mistake. Could it be that there was more than just a place that affected my change in mood and feeling? More importantly, at what point did I get into the field and at what point was I out of it?

From this initial foray, I had begun to engage albeit unwittingly, with the politics of the field. As far as emotions and affects were concerned, how was I to construe the field? For instance, which emotions and affects constituted the field and which did not? Approaching the chapter in this manner allows me to engage the nascent scholarship on affective methodologies while also attending to sensory ethnography as a constituent of ethnographic work. More broadly, what strategies would I deploy to engage the field and with what epistemological, logistical, ethical, and affective implications? the following sections trace the ways in which these issues were attended to.

4.2.1 Formulating a research design

The first decision that I had to make concerned how to explore and present the various aspects of the study activities into one logical and concise unit. This entailed identifying a research design consistent with my constructivist orientation. A research design,

> refers to and encompasses decisions about how the research itself is conceptualized, the subsequent conduct of a specific research project, and ultimately the type of contribution the research is intended to make to the development of knowledge in a particular area (Cheek, 2008, p.761)

In this sense, it entails aspects to do with how the researcher approached the study in ideational form, what practical methods and tools were adopted and how useful these approaches were for the purposes of the study.

From the research questions which were crafted in the process of conceptualising the study, a qualitative longitudinal study was identified as most suitable in pursuing an explorative agenda. A qualitative study concerns itself with 'subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behaviour' (Kothari, 2008) utilising 'case studies, naturalistic observation, surveys, and focus groups' (Marczyk et al., 2005).

Although there was an array of possible qualitative research approaches to adopt in the study, focus was on the case of a single church and its members, enabling an in-depth exploration (Yin, 2003) of localised and transnational affective ties. The church — which I call Speak in Tongues (SIT) — was founded in Zimbabwe but has presence across many cities in South Africa with Johannesburg and Pretoria[25] being the epicentre. Considering that I visited the two main branches in these cities as well as traced physical and virtual activities and connections with Zimbabwe, I realised that apart from just attending to a case study, I was also traversing through many sites. As such, a multi-sited approach was adopted in my work – an approach which I conceived of as a multi-sited ethnography (detailed below).

4.2.2 Ethnography

In thinking around the research project, I continuously questioned myself on how an ethnographic approach would employ affect. Attendant to this was the question of what sort of methodological steps would suffice to explore "infra-empirical" phenomena (Clough, 2008a). Moreover, the interdisciplinary approach which draws together affect, transnationalism and Pentecostalism warranted an articulate and well-structured research design.

An ethnographic approach was selected as it allowed for a thorough inquisition into the church and members' everyday lives. Ethnography is informed by the interpretive tradition which privileges the view of the social actor (Pollner & Emerson, 2001). Resultantly, the study explored the meanings attached to encounters and experiences of participants as they understood them. In adopting this approach, the voice of actors punctuates aspects of the study, and this is complemented by the researcher's reading of phenomena through affective conceptual lens.

In conducting an ethnographic study, insights from the collection *Affective Methodologies* proved enlightening. In agreement with Donna Haraway, Knusden & Stage (2015) emphasise that employing affect places the researcher firmly within

[25] Although the name Pretoria is used in this report, this is only because many people including many of my interlocutors identify the city by its pre-Independence name. However, Pretoria's name was officially changed to Tshwane in 2005 amidst acrimony in some sections of society.

the research site and therefore allows them to use their own experiences as useful pointers to making sense of affect. In other words, as a researcher, I was engaged in a 'conversation' with the world that I was investigating. Such a conversation entailed a continuous reflection on how the field and agents within it affected and were affected by the researcher. The detachment and absolute objectivity which researchers claim in their work was continuously challenged. In a later section I reflexively discuss my engagement with the study just as other researchers employing affect have done.

Ethnographic work on its own is already transformative because it asks us to see the mundane elements of remarkable events and contexts (Silverman, 2013) as well as pay attention to what is not readily visible in the ordinary — what some affect theorists refer to as the 'ineffable'. Inserting affect into ethnography adds to the transformative agenda by highlighting the mundane in interpersonal and intrapersonal settings.

Sarah Pink's (2009) sensory ethnography was instructive in how I approached my ethnographic work. In her insightful text, Sarah Pink notes that sensory ethnography is not a specific set of methods *per se* but rather, "it is open to multiple ways of knowing and to the exploration of and reflections on new routes to knowledge" (p.8). Therefore, while I attended to observations as a primary tool for gathering data, I was aware of the sensibilities in the field on my part as well as among participants. Although I refer to a research field, I must redirect attention to the multiple sites which constituted this field. To do this, I discuss the multi-sited ethnography that I embraced.

4.2.2.1 Multi-sited ethnography

Migrants maintain connection with various places which include the local ('home[26]'), national (Zimbabwe) and international (South Africa). For some of my interlocutors, the religious was a more important reference point than the nation. For them, home meant the religious headquarters situated in Gweru. It also meant their local residential places since some had been resident in South Africa since 2004. As a result, instead of focusing on the local scale, the study invoked multi-sited

[26] For Zimbabwean meanings of home, see Ndlovu (2010).

ethnography which allowed for a connection between local and global (Marcus, 1995). Moreover, I understood multi-sited ethnography and ethnography to differ in that,

> the past habit of Malinowskian ethnography has been to take subjects as you find them in natural units of difference—cultures, communities; the habit or impulse of multi-sited research is to see subjects as differently constituted, as not products of essential units of difference only, but to see them in development—displaced, recombined, hybrid in the once popular idiom, alternatively imagined (Marcus, 2013, p.19).

Multi-sited ethnography enables for a following of movement across spaces which are not typically native. As such, my ethnographic sites included the physical sites traversed by interlocutors as well as virtual spaces such as Zoom, Facebook, YouTube, and WhatsApp.

Following "networked affects" (Hillis et al., 2015; Paasonen, 2018), cyberspace was a place which was largely explored in the study as a result of the lockdown measures that were instituted by the government of South Africa in response to the COVID-19[27] pandemic. Resultantly, one might intimate that a form of digital ethnography (Murthy, 2008) was relied upon. By digital ethnography, I refer to the use of ethnographic methods to observe lives of actors across digital platforms. This was the case with varying degrees of intensity between March 2020 and February of 2021. I present a chronology of the COVID measures and church responses in the appendices section (Appendix 1). The multiple sites and different spaces, physical, imagined, and virtual (Burrell, 2009), all created different affective relationalities for the researcher among participants. For example, cyber platforms sometimes felt distant and artificial while physical sites were more intimate and natural.

[27] I use COVID-19 and COVID interchangeably. This is because the initial pandemic was identified as one stemming from the COVID-19 virus strain. However, as the strain mutated and was assigned various other names, the virus was more easily identified - in the public domain - as COVID and not by its other names such as SARS-COV-2, HKU1, MERS-COV among others.

The transnational tenor of the research played a role in the decision to employ a multi-sited approach. This is because transnationalism by its nature encompasses situatedness 'supralocal' situatedness (Falzon, 2009).

In recognising the compatibility of transnationalism and multi-sited ethnography, the intention was not to uncritically enjoin the two in this study. Rather, embracing multi-sited ethnography was done with an awareness of the criticisms which are directed at the method. For instance, Ghassan Hage (2005) argues that the use of the term community in ethnographies, is problematic in studying migrant groups due to in-group dynamism and diversities while Burrell (2009) offers a network analysis as an alternative conceptual frame. Hage (2005) further suggests that a single 'discontinuous site' be deployed instead of multiple sites as multi-sited ethnography proposes. I find the latter suggestion problematic because if indeed there is one discontinuous site, then there is no value in deploying transnationalism either. In other words, there ceases to be a distinction between the transnational migrant and those people in sending or destination areas; the migrant and non-migrant become similar given that they exist in one homogenous, discontinuous site. Moreover, for the present study, a single site would suggest accepting a fatal assumption that all atmospheres/intensities/becomings are the same. The literature on migration, migrant bodies, xenophobia, and inclusion has established the identitarian politics which pervade various spaces that are negotiated and occupied by the other. As such, flattening space into a discontinuous mass risks missing differences which characterise the terrain.

The criticisms of multi-sited ethnography appear to have faced a firm rebuttal in numerous author contributions in volume 35(10) of the journal *Ethnic and Racial Studies* where a 'methodological transnationalism' (Amelina & Faist, 2012) is advanced. I concur with the authors in the journal who advocate for deployment of multi-sited ethnographic work on condition that it is critically engaged. Under such conditions, the approach offers insights on phenomena with clear demarcations of fields encountered and engaged. This then enables for theoretical tools — beyond the methodological approach — to be employed; tools such as embedding affect into the research design.

Although multi-sited ethnography has stirred a lot of debate, its deployment follows a simple approach. Multi-sited ethnography hinges on 'following' (Marcus, 1995) phenomena into various sites. Among the six followings included are the people, the metaphor, the story, the life, the things, and conflict. The present study followed people and ideas in church, church events, the institutional biography as well as membership stories of migration, settlement, and experience.

The 'following' principle has stirred criticism primarily on its failure to follow 'vertically' as Falzon (2009) observes. In other words, it enables the researcher to move into many places at once (Van Duijn, 2020) without extracting as much depth of knowledge of a phenomenon as focus on a single site would. Although I acknowledge the possibility of being swayed into many directions, I also find such criticism applicable to many research designs[28] since a thorough study is likely to consider more than one dimension, perspective, or subject even though the overarching concern (such as organisational culture) may be one. In this vein, I agree with Saldana & Omasta (2018) who state that "sometimes the physical setting itself is important, and other times it's the specific people who just happen to be living or working in a particular setting that determines where researchers go" (p.61). The onus is therefore on the researcher to define the field, the scope and the unit of analysis and strive to rigorously attend to those.

Lastly, Marcus (2013) makes a salient point on criticisms of the multi-sited approach. He intimates that the rebuttal of multi-sited approaches in preference of singular/unitary conceptions of research sites is a way of holding onto the "Malinowskian tradition". However, this tradition has changed often since Malinowski's first ethnographic works such that expectations of a pure/true ethnography are somewhat far-fetched. In this sense, multi-sited ethnography is no different to other ethnographies which have made slight shifts in a long line of methodological adjustments.

4.2.2.2 Emplacing affect into ethnographic research

Following Richard & Rudnyckyj (2009) and Lehmann et al. (2019), I conceived affect as relational. In this sense, affect was embodied and transferable. By embodiment,

[28] For example, attending to a single site for thorough excavation of data would most likely ignore other relevant avenues of enquiry.

I did not construe bodies as reservoirs of affect or affective states but interpreted them as entities that were affected by others and could equally affect (Massumi, 2002). In this sense, I concurred with the assertion that 'one and the same body may be moved in different modes' (de Spinoza, 1901). Affect could be exchanged across and between bodies in the sense that one could affect another body and likewise be affected. It circulated in the everyday. However, I do not suggest, as does Papacharissi (2015), that affect was contagious. I anticipated that among others, the excitement, joy and experience of miracles, sermons, praise, and worship by some persons would not be transmitted like a virus to others. Indeed, it was rather striking that during church services, while other people were caught up in very dramatic and gripping emotional episodes, others were not. Here I reflect on my preliminary forays into the field.

On one Sunday, the music team had rendered what was a moving session of music where some people screamed, and the pastor and other members prayed aloud in tongues. I observed that in the entire melee, one child calmly walked about the church auditorium. I began musing on whether affective energies/states were indeed contagious. Was there a possibility that much like the dancing plague of 1518 (Wetherell, 2012), some contagious affect could be encountered in church? Perhaps being affected depended on one's disposition prior to entering the church, on a habitus (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). Perhaps not. Many of the children around as well as some adults — including myself — appeared to show no signs of divine effect. Similarly, at a church service on Christmas day in 2020, I observed that during singing of the Christmas carols, no member appeared moved 'in the spirit' as they often said. Yet, when the usual songs were sung, some members swayed, grimaced in moments of ecstatic encounter, and even spoke in tongues. It appeared that contagion was out of the question. At this stage, I began to think, following Mühlhoff's (2019) affective resonances, that affects are shared in what I deemed to be an affective economy.

I attended to these affective economies within religious settings (prayer, declarations, praise and worship, sermons, church functions and evangelising), and in social contexts (walking in the city, relations with family and friends, virtual spaces, social roles). Although attention to one arena would likely have drawn out a

deeper understanding of how affect circulates across geopolitical space, I erred towards Ben Anderson's assertion that affect cuts "across the separate domains we habitually organise the world into, affects are not the special property of any one domain of life (economic, cultural, and so on) or functionally distinct sector (law, medicine, art, etc.)" (Anderson, 2014, p.6). The actors that I followed and who have enriched this report with empirical data have experiences in such interconnected fields.

While I have so far framed much of my study within the context of the church, the salience of urbanism within the research itself cannot be understated. After all, Pentecostalism is portrayed in the media and scholarship as a predominantly urban phenomenon (see for example: Katsaura, 2017; Lindhardt, 2015; van Wyk, 2014; Wariboko, 2014; Wilhelm-Solomon et al., 2016; Zulu & Wilhelm-Solomon, 2015). The role and place of affect in the urban milieu was therefore traced through Pentecostal experience.

I have articulated the multiple sites where I followed activities and people from SIT. I now turn to a more detailed description of SIT.

4.3 The Case Study Church

Speak in Tongues (SIT) is a Zimbabwe-formed Pentecostal church with presence in South Africa's major metropoles among a host of other international stations[29]. It was founded in Gweru in the mid-1990s– at the height of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP)[30] — by Marcus and Miriam Moyo. As a Pentecostal church, SIT identifies with the prosperity gospel doctrine and therefore confronts the squalor of African geographies particularly in urban areas which are zones often targeted by transnational migrants for settlement. Although its membership across the globe is diverse, SIT primarily taps into the Zimbabwean migrant community and therefore assumes a transnational character in terms of membership composition,

[29] According to the church website and the Zimbabwean newspaper, The Chronicle, on the church's 20th anniversary

[30] ESAP was a raft of neoliberal economic policies aimed at developing countries. In Zimbabwe, it resulted in withdrawal of the state from delivery of some public services and goods and this opened up space for social or civil society movements.

geographical distribution, and multi-sited connection. It is for this reason that the church attracted the researcher's interest as a site for exploration.

Unlike other Pentecostal churches which have been studied and whose formations are in and around Harare (Biri, 2018; Chitando & Biri, 2016; Gunda et al., 2013; Manyonganise, 2020; Maxwell, 1998), SIT was founded in a much more linguistically diverse environment. Moreover, its founders are Ndebele speakers, and this cultural dimension appears to have an appeal on the membership in Johannesburg and Pretoria. Most people that I interacted with spoke isiNdebele with the fewer Shona speakers either speaking in their language outside church or adjusting to Ndebele for most interactions. In Johannesburg alone, the church had 35 branches which were strewn across the metropolis[31]. It also had presence in cities such as Cape Town, and East London as well as small urban centres such as Tweefontein and Majakaneng. Although the membership was very welcoming of guests, declaring myself a researcher initiated a series of negotiations which highlighted the complexities and politics of the research field.

4.3.1 Politics of the research field: positionality, reflexivity, negotiations, and navigation

In this section I reflect on my academic endeavour while marking out the aspects which either stirred tensions or were sources of perceived and real advantage regarding my relationship with the field and the research participants. This is no easy feat considering that affect is yet to be studied *as an academic discipline* (Lara, 2020); and yet my reflexivity must acknowledge how my position is knit into and/or untangled from the affective terrain that I explored. When considered through autoethnography, emotions constitute part of the study focus which as a researcher I was immersed in. Yet an autoethnography of one's emotions is deemed to be some form of 'scholarly treason' (Spry, 2001). Despite such concerns, it would be an act of scholarly recklessness if I did not take note of how my emotions were immersed in the episodes and encounters that I shared with participants. Therefore, I consider the positions that I occupied in relation to the actors with whom I engaged.

[31] The founder and Bishop in church address on 02 June 2019.

4.3.1.1 Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to 'reflection on one's relationships with the data, the participants, the nature of the study, and even with one's self as a researcher' (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018b, p.50). I did not approach reflexivity as an afterthought to incorporate in the methodology section (Wood & Altglas, 2010) but understood it as a binding thread in the entire project as I considered axiological questions. Drawing from feminist research methodologies, the study appreciated two ways in which reflexivity played out. These were in

1. making explicit how power has been exercised, and,
2. The social situatedness of the researcher (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004).

Hence, I appreciated that I constituted the social world in which I conducted study (Lune & Berg, 2017), carried my 'symbolic interaction to the study of empirical reality' (Denzin, 1978, p.308) as well as potential biases, and therefore had to continuously examine my influence on the study (Dowling, 2008).

Associated with reflexivity is positionality, that is, the situatedness of knowledge (Finley, 2008) which stems from intellectual, embodied, and spatial locatedness. My being a graduate student, a man, conversant in Shona and Ndebele and with a network in Gweru, all coalesced to have different effects on my engagement and understanding (rightly or wrongly) of people's experiences.

All these features converge and demand persistence in reflection from the researcher. Because reflexivity demands that a researcher considers multiple focal areas in which interactions with the field and actors interlaced with forms of power, the process harnesses the theoretical force of intersectionality.

Stemming from feminist scholarship, it was motivated by "the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed" (Crenshaw, 1991, p.1245). The argument it presented was that women [and other social categories] were not one homogenous group that faced equal effects where power and authority were unfavourably exercised. Rather, race, gender and class all contribute towards a person's social experience and the ways in which they relate to power. In inserting intersectionality as a reflexive process, I am aware of criticisms levelled against it (McCall, 2005) and hence employ it as a subjectively

interpreted relation with the field and actors. In other words, there is a broad range of possible categories and subcategories that can be theoretically considered in social life. The sheer scope then demands that one reflects upon one's *self-identified* categories and even then, the ones that the researcher is aware of. Such was my reflexivity as I considered my being a male, graduate student, African, Zimbabwean, Shona and Ndebele-speaking, heterosexual, and fluid Christian identity. I did this following scholars who have deployed intersectionality and reflexivity in their work (Acker-Verney, 2016; Carstensen-Egwuom, 2014). In the following section, I commence by reflecting on my social situatedness within the broad project before turning to my position in relation to actors.

4.3.1.1.1 Researcher's position before entering the research the field

My position as a researcher does not commence or even form in 2019 when the project was conceptualised. Instead, the researcher arrived with baggage – a habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) – consciously but also unwittingly accumulated in various settings. Some aspects of this baggage could not be dispensed of while other aspects were easily dispensable into the background. For instance, there was no way of discarding my being Zimbabwean while there was a way of hibernating my fluid religious impulses. To start off, my journey with the Christian faith was eclectic. I was raised in a very religious family yet migrated from one denomination to another such that by the time I engaged in the research project, I had attended with varying degrees of commitment, some African independent churches (Zion church and Apostolic Faith Mugodhi) as well as the Seventh Day Adventist church. In between these attendances were invitations by friends to some Pentecostal churches, the Roman Catholic Church and Anglican Church. The net effect was a diverse appreciation of religious practices as well as a fluid — if not indifferent — religious habitus. Although this background made me very sceptical of some practices, such scepticism proved useful as I was not drawn to enter the field as a member with vested interests and stakes but entered as a researcher seeking to unearth its "secure knowledge" (Wood & Altglas, 2010).

4.3.1.1.2 Entering the field

Having arrived in Johannesburg in February 2019, it was of the utmost importance that I immediately commence negotiation for permission to conduct research with a

specific church as a primary research field. However, as I had anticipated, there were numerous platforms on which negotiations were to be made and these required deployment of various social currencies on the researcher's part. In discussing complexities of the research field, Gupta & Ferguson (2002) observe that the research field is a clearing whose deceptive transparency obscures the complex processes that go into constructing it. This was the case in this study where the research field encompassed the religious, social, and economic in local and transnational networks.

With many potential complexities in mind, I was cognisant of such issues as the insider/outsider or emic/etic dichotomies which sometimes were not fixed but tended to be unsettled in places (Eppley, 2006). On one hand I was an insider given the common nationality and common cultures with some target participants. These qualities were advantageous to negotiations for entry particularly into social and religious fields. On the other, I was an outsider. After all, I was not a registered member of the church, had not previously attended a church service at any SIT branch, did not occupy the same socio-economic demographic layer as many church members and was a graduate student among members who mostly had diplomas and high school certificates. In reality, I realised that being an outsider or insider was relational and contingent on the other (Merriam, 2001). To one person I may have been an outsider while to another, I was an insider. Resultantly, various strategies to enter various fields were employed. These included attending various church functions and activities to establish rapports, communicating with people in my personal network who might know people at SIT in South Africa, and directly communicating with the pastorate and divulging details of the research project.

In direct communication, care was taken to use language that did not suggest criticism of faith and the church. Initiating this stage was somewhat easy due to the fact that the church devotes a segment for welcoming visitors in Sunday services. Willing first-time visitors made themselves known by identifying themselves and declaring their background to the church (see fig below). This stage was useful because it made the visitor a familiar face and a few church members also followed up on the visitor.

Figure 2: Researcher introducing himself to the church in March 2019



Source: SIT Media Department

Having done the self-introduction, the researcher initially became familiar with two people (a senior pastor and a pastor who led a gathering in the church's college ministry). These two are alluded to below.

Engaging the pastorate in direct communications meant that there were power negotiations to be continually managed. To use Droogers' (2010) terms, there is 'power' and 'play' which characterise the relationship. On one hand the pastorate and church elite facilitated access to the church; on the other they had influence on the laity with whom I would later negotiate access for interviews, engage in informal conversations and even arrange visits. In seeking access from the pastorate, I detailed the benefits of conducting research for the organisation, emphasised the allowance for participant anonymity, the confidentiality of the study as well as ethical systems in place which I as a researcher was bound to adhere to. In furnishing the pastorate with such details, it was anticipated that confidence in the professional and institutionally regulated nature of the research project would be acquired without subjecting myself to unnecessary controls from the pastorate or gatekeepers. Thereafter, I began to directly approach church members as a way of establishing rapports for possible future access. This group was equally slippery to deal with. In many instances, members seldom refused outrightly but tended to be evasive about their availability, ignored telephone calls, ignored messages on WhatsApp (blue ticking as it is colloquially known) or repeatedly postponed appointments until the researcher 'took the hint'. One lady upon hearing of the

research approached me and indicated that she was good at conducting speech-to-text transcriptions. The moment that I told her that I would most likely use Otter.ai for such services, she became less accessible and eventually went completely quiet. Another who had availed herself as a potential assistant opted out indicating that her phone had been damaged. A month later when I got in touch with her, she seemed completely clueless about my identity and even feigned ignorance of previous interactions. I promptly withdrew from reaching out to her. Where I secured interviews, it was either because of a mutually known acquaintance or after frequent prior informal interactions.

In identifying challenges of entry into the field, I am pointing out issues which I had already anticipated and was therefore not surprised to encounter. Entry into the daily lives of participants was likely to be a challenge because bodies – which I sought to observe — are part of how people identify themselves (McGuire, 2008). This made monitoring of bodies in private spaces a particularly challenging prospect especially where different roles are played by the observed. The researcher had hoped to get access through referrals from acquaintances and informal chats but after the COVID pandemic, few people were willing to meet at their homes and even worse in their workplaces. Instead, many preferred chats at church or on virtual platforms.

Informal chats proved useful in establishing areas of commonality between the researcher and some church members along some or all of the following lines:

- ✓ Being students from University of the Witwatersrand,
- ✓ Shona-speaking and Ndebele-speaking migrants,
- ✓ Familiarity with Gweru where most members either came from or had grown up, and,
- ✓ Supporters of Chelsea Football Club and, New Zealand's All Blacks rugby team.

The researcher used these mutually shared aspects as leads into recruitment for participation. Important to note is that entry was negotiated and renegotiated during the course of the study resulting in the researcher 'living a multiplex life: sailing at once in several seas' (Geertz, 1988 cited in O'Reilly, 2014). That is, the researcher shifting from insider to outsider depending on context and people engaged. This process played out during negotiations with the church leadership.

Having arrived at SIT and introduced myself in March 2019 then secured verbal consent from the leadership to conduct my study, I faced my first encounter with the turbulence of the field in June when I had to once again renegotiate permission to conduct my study. This was prompted by an abrupt change of leadership which meant that I had to re-introduce myself to the new leadership team which had not been informed of my proposed work. After verbal and email communications with the new leadership, access was finally (re)granted indicating that the researcher could approach branches across Gauteng province. However, when the researcher went on to email the pastor in Pretoria, the pastor did not only seek elaborate details but indicated that permission would be considered upon deliberating with various structures of the church including the headquarters in Zimbabwe. This was a process which spanned two months but eventually proved successful after the Pretoria pastor was engaged and assured by the Reverend in Johannesburg that there was nothing sinister about my work. During the same period, I travelled to Pretoria to meet the Pastor and explain [again] what my project entailed, and who I was while opening myself up to questions which he may have had.

Lastly, I had anticipated that gender would play a role in the field because I was new and so access to females would perhaps be problematic. From my earlier observations, after church, people gathered outside of the building and chatted before dispersing. In many cases, it was relatively easy to identify people who were couples and those who appeared very close as they often moved away together or resorted to more isolated spaces for their chats. The reverend had already hinted (perhaps jokingly) that some of the guys in the church had reputations as Casanovas. I was therefore wary of appearing as one such character and so largely spoke to the men. Yet, surprisingly, the people who were much receptive to my work were women (mostly single). Chats were cordial but, in some instances, stalled once I detailed my research project. Nonetheless, except for cases where women were married and their husbands were uncomfortable with me talking to their wives in separate interviews, I managed to engage some women who surprised me later with their depth of openness. Men were generally less open. The men that I spoke to were either leaders, people with whom I developed very cordial relations or those with whom I shared a mutual acquaintance. Having negotiated access into the field, I then had to delve into the messy arena of navigating it.

4.3.1.1.3 Navigating the field

After gaining access, my position was not fixed. On some occasions, I had to re-assert my position as a researcher while on others, my position was hinted to me. I will reflect on two incidents which illuminate such shifts in positions. The first relates to an incident at church when plans were afoot to set up a supplementary service on Sundays. This service was meant to accommodate those who prefer to attend church from mid-morning to early afternoon. In January 2020, the pastor assigned to lead the supplementary service was recruiting people to join his service and he approached me. Having invited me and succeeded, he then enquired on how comfortable I was to engage in presentations during church in the form of readings at tithe, offering and prayer. I politely declined the offer reminding him that I was a researcher and so could not participate in some activities without reflecting on them first and consulting others. My fears were not just ethical and therefore confined to research. Rather, I was also aware of my limited biblical knowledge and inability to deliver performances consistent with Pentecostal routines and rites.

The second incident highlights my position as a researcher and how it was used to foreclose my participation in the field. In November 2020, I attended an outing for men which was set up as a counselling and *braai* session prior to marriage for one of the church members, Dlodlo. On the way to the venue, two gentlemen (an elder and a pastor) were speaking in hushed tones about a male church member whose marriage was falling apart. Interlaced in their chat was church business as well as the plans of one to buy a house. It was evident for part of the drive that the two could not freely discuss some issues and so when we met another church member driving to the same venue, I was asked to move to the other car precisely because there were "things" that the two wanted to discuss.

I reflect on these instances to demonstrate the shifts in power between myself and the study participants. There were numerous encounters where the researcher was fully aware of dependence on permission from gatekeepers (such as the drive alluded to above and the time when the researcher was denied access to join a virtual meeting on one platform). There equally were instances where the researcher had room to decide how involved he wanted to be or which issues to focus on during some interactions.

In addition to incidents such as those identified above, there were parts of the research field which proved difficult to access because of the membership prerequisites. The most obvious of these were the women's fellowship groups and meetings. To hedge against complete inaccessibility of these parts of the research field, the services of a female assistant were solicited to conduct interviews with some members of the church. In addition, interviews with some women in positions of authority were conducted, focusing on women's insights and sentiments in particular.

One assumption that informed my recruitment of an assistant was that as a woman, she would have access to many more women than I could. At the time, I was encumbered by limited access due to the COVID-related lockdown. In addition, I had realised that although I had spoken to some married men, access to their wives was proving difficult. It was as though when the man spoke, he spoke on behalf of everyone in his household. The research assistant – who was a member of the church– faced obstacles in her attempt to speak to participants in Johannesburg although she fared much better in Pretoria where she had a weaker network. Prior to conducting interviews, I facilitated a training phase where we went through the questions using the interview guide, the language to deploy, the research ethics as well as terms of the engagement. I drafted a contract which I requested her to read and give feedback on in case there were clauses which she wished to discuss or have revised. After coming to an agreement, she signed the contract document and commenced interviews.

4.4 Data collection, sampling, and instrumentation

Having negotiated entry into various fields of research participant lives, the researcher was confronted by a second challenge relating to affective methodologies, namely, collecting of data. Data could be '*emic* – produced by the affected body itself, or *etic* – produced by an outside observer (Knudsen & Stage, 2015, p.8).

4.4.1 Primary data collection

Data collection was split into three phases (a pretesting phase where semi-structured interview guides were tested on friends and acquaintances who are

Pentecostals over one month, fieldwork phase at SIT lasting approximately sixteen months and finally a phase involving collating data leading to compilation of the report). Prior to settling on SIT and entering the field, I had visited two charismatic churches namely Christ Embassy in Brixton and Faith Hill in Braamfontein. Christ Embassy enabled me to be accustomed to some forms of Pentecostal practice in South Africa while Faith Hill gave me access to people from Zimbabwe, some of whom I invited to participate in mock interviews in the form of an instrumentation pretest. A few others were invited to read the interview guide and comment on the questions for clarity. One colleague from Wits University assisted me in the pretest phase which alerted me to the challenge of getting access to people's time. While it was relatively easy getting people to accept participation, I discovered that settling on a time was a daunting task and this only became more difficult during actual fieldwork.

The three phases mentioned above (pre-test, collection, collating and reporting) employed earlier suggested strategies of entry into the research field (direct communications, chats, and shared interests as entry points). The second phase where the researcher conducted extensive data collection was further disaggregated into three overlapping stages. These three stages, which constituted multi-sited ethnography's followings Marcus (1995), entailed site visits in Johannesburg, site visits in Pretoria as well as site visits in Gweru, Zimbabwe. Site visits to Pretoria and Johannesburg primarily entailed visits to the main church branches (Newtown and inner-city Tshwane/Pretoria), attending church and social gatherings, participating in church events in physical locations or virtually and on very few occasions, making physical visits to the homes of participants within these cities.

In-church observations entailed sitting in and observing activities as outlined in the observation guide. Although there was no sampling frame in the observation process itself, the branches where such observations are made had been purposively selected by the researcher for various reasons. For example, the Newtown branch serves as the main branch in Johannesburg and in South Africa. As a result, this is where the apex of the local church leadership is found. In addition, on the basis of accounts of church members, the Newtown branch was one of the largest branches

in South Africa with a weekly attendance of between 100 and 150 people after June 2019.

The Pretoria branch was also purposively selected due to its location and accessibility within the city. In addition, the administrative division of the church in South Africa meant that while Johannesburg and Pretoria were 50 kilometres apart, they however represented two distinct administrative regions. As such, Pretoria was not only a different site but headed a separate administrative area.

Sampling of interviewees was initially meant to be based on a snowball technique which the researcher would initiate through first getting in touch with known contacts from the process of negotiations for access as described above. A snowball sampling frame entails one participant recommending someone else that the researcher can contact (Robson & McCartan, 2016). The criteria in interview sample selection were as follows:

- Are *adult* Zimbabwean migrants.
- Are members of Speak in Tongues (SIT) in South Africa.
- Reside either in Johannesburg or Pretoria in South Africa.

The criteria laid out above served to ensure that only Zimbabwean migrants who attend or were members of SIT and resided in Johannesburg or Pretoria constituted the sample pool of participants. However, not all participants emerged from a snowball process. Rather, the sampling pool which eventually emerged was purposively constructed albeit following the same sample criteria as laid out above. Although I initially invited a participant to refer me to anyone whom they felt would be interested and/or willing to participate, I soon realised that people were not comfortable/forthcoming in this area. In fact, some of the participants were willing to share contacts who were members of other Pentecostal churches and not SIT. Resultantly, by the time that the COVID lockdown restrictions were eased for international travel in November 2020, I had desisted from requesting references. My main participants were as depicted in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Breakdown of study participants (semi-structured interviews)

Participant	Age	Year of arrival	Profession	Gender	Documentation	Education	Year joined
1	31	Dec-2014	IT networking	M	General	College	2005
2	30	Feb-2017	Customer services	M	Critical Skills	B.Hons degree	2007
3	29	Jan-2016	-	M	Critical Skills	B.Hons degree	2011
4	31	Dec-2014	Fashion designer	F	No permit	Diploma	1996
5	48	2008	Educator	F	ZEP	O'Level	2012
6	23	Apr-2018	Odd jobs	M	Passport	O'Level	2014
7	43	Apr-2004	Unemployed	F	ZSP	Bachelor's degree	-
8	36	May-2019	Self-Employed	M	Passport	College	2019
9	35	Nov-2010	Research	F	ZEP	Masters	Jan-2015
10	32	2004 and 2013	Self-Employed	F	General	O'Level	2007
11	44	Jan-2018 (2002 circular)	Self-Employed	F	Passport	Professional diploma	2005
12	28	2013	Software developer	M	Critical Skills	B.Hons degree	-

13	22	2006	Student	F	Permanent Residence	B.Hons degree	2019
14	29	Feb-2016	Unemployed	F	Asylum	B.Hons degree	Jan-2012
15	44	Sep-2018	Education official	M	No permit	MBA	2017 (earlier visit to Johannesburg)
16	37	2008/9	Handyman	M	Passport	O'Level	2006
17	29	Jan-2016	Admin officer and Freelance designer	M	Critical Skills	B.Hons	2011
18	40	2008	IT	M	General permit	B.Hons degree	2005

In addition to participants in Table 1 above, I engaged some key informants whose sketch is provided in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Breakdown of key informants

Pseudonym	Age estimate	Church function
Rev	Early 40s	Church leader in SA, head pastor in office of Rev
Mom Rev/Sekai	Mid 30s	Head of ladies' ministry in SA, pastor
Conrad	Early 40s	Senior Pastor
Mhlonishwa	Late 30s	Elder in the church
Snr Pastor Dube	Late 30s	Snr Pastor
Skara	Mid 40s	Snr Pastor
Rev Kudzai	Mid 40s	Rev and hub leader
Welcome	Mid 30s	Active member of many departments including heading sales
Opera	Mid 30s	Co-leader of music team

In addition to the nine (9) key informants and eighteen (18) semi-structured interview participants, I also had countless informal conversations, attended more than 86 physical and virtual church sessions (mid-week home groups, Sunday sermons and Tuesday prayers), and took part in nine key events (these included men's meetings, proselytising sessions, an annual dinner in 2019, night watches and the global conference).

Having marked official commencement of fieldwork on 10 November 2019, soon after receiving my ethical clearance letter, I began observations inside and outside the church, before spending December in Zimbabwe where I attended a church conference gathering in Gweru. I resumed fieldwork in South Africa in mid-January and then commenced the interview process in February 2020. At this stage, busy

schedules of potential participants and continued negotiations meant that by early March, few interviews had been conducted and these were in the main informal. Resultantly, negotiations continued into March.

The month of March was significant for two related reasons. On the fifth of the month, South Africa noted its first official case of the novel corona virus (COVID 19). Following this and with the rise of infections countrywide but most markedly in Gauteng, the president of South Africa announced a national lockdown which was to last for 21 days starting on the midnight of the 23rd of March. During this period, movement of persons was very restricted and "social distancing" (reduction of physical distance and discouragement of social gatherings) was encouraged. Resultantly, instead of arranging for physical meetings for interviews to be conducted, the interview process was conducted over virtual platforms in cyberspace such as WhatsApp calls and Skype video calls. This had the effect of creating less intimacy — between the researcher and participant — compared to in-person meetings. It also meant limited cues on data which might have revealed more on emotions and disposition through body performances. In spite of the use of virtual platforms, the unit of analysis did not change; that is, focus remained on the church. Assemblages on virtual platforms were not detached from the typical lives and events of people and organisations (Murthy, 2008; Schrooten, 2012).

Observations were conducted both covertly and overtly depending on practicality, context, and setting (O'Reilly, 2009). That is, in some instances I 'participated in the action of the field setting' (Saldana & Omasta, 2018a). However, this role was predominantly played in Johannesburg where my engagement with the field was more intense. Resultantly, in other sites such as Pretoria, I was less engaged although I still participated in singing along during services or standing up in participation when asked to do so. It is in activities such as preaching during outreaches or participating in social media exchanges that I "stood back" in Pretoria.

Participant observations were chosen for their value in enhancing the quality of data collected (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). An observation guide was devised prior to conducting fieldwork and it became the key reference document for the researcher

on the data to be observed (church dramaturgy, social and virtual practices as well as church and social events such as braais and funerals). Notes were taken during services/gatherings and at the end of each field trip, detailed field notes were compiled on the basis of data observed. These field notes were preserved for future processing and analysis. Participant observations were especially useful because of the study's key focus – affect. How people behaved, performed, appeared to feel, responded, initiated interaction, and related were all largely observed. As a triangulation method, data from interviews complemented observations. Hence, where more clarity was sought, semi-structured interviews of church members and key informants (church leaders) as well as informal conversations formed a supporting instrumentation toolkit. Semi-structured interviews have 'a degree of structure but also offer researchers significant latitude to adjust course as needed' (Saldaña & Omasta, 2018b). The interview is guided by a 'shopping list' of topics (Robson & McCartan, 2016) which enable wider exploration of issues depending on how engaged a participant might be.

Due to the historical nature of part of the study which explored the church biography and migrant stories, I had planned to incorporate a life history approach to enrich the multi-sited case. Life histories would have focused on 'an *individual* [emphasis in the original], his biographical data, feelings, outlook and personal experiences' (Corbetta, 2003, p.293). However, difficulties in accessing participants for sustained periods of time, and limited travel to Zimbabwe[32] to trace social and religious networks, led to cancellation of life histories. Some participants shared snippets of their histories, but these tended to be short and embedded within the semi-structured interview or informal chats. Instead of individual histories, it is only the church history in South Africa which was explored at length. Such exploration was possible through interviews with key informants as well as access to sparse secondary sources of data, such as magazines, videos from official sites (Facebook and Soundcloud) and other paraphernalia, all of which contributed to data triangulation.

[32] Movement restrictions were also in place in Zimbabwe.

4.4.2 Secondary data

Notes were made of key issues covered in magazines, books and other materials produced by the church and kept in a notepad which the researcher could then easily refer to for data synthesis and subsequent analysis. I was not allowed to take pictures or videos in church although I could use the content taken by the media teams and posted on Facebook. This meant that while I could use the material, I nonetheless had to be careful how I handled it especially in presentation of findings because anonymity of both the church and its members had to be maintained. The media teams inserted watermarks, markers, and church logos on most content. As a result, where images are presented, they are edited to mask the church identifying markers and people's identities.

4.4.3 What constitutes affective data?

The empirical data that a researcher opts to trace is associated with the strategy which they choose to employ (Knusden & Stage, 2015). Affective "indicators" were guided by the researcher's reading of numerous scholars who have deployed affect in their work. Common indicators which were available in a snapshot of literature on affect are presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Indicators and Genealogies of Affect

Indicator	Source	Genealogy
Grief, anxiety, or anger, depression and the seven deadly sins (pride, sloth, envy, lust, anger, gluttony, avarice (p.21)	Brennan (2004)	Tomkins and Spinoza
Tension, pleasure, or elation	Russell & Barrett (1999)	Tomkins
Emotions such as contentment and anger, Attitudes such as liking and disliking, and connotative meanings in general	Smith-Lovin (1995) cited in von Scheve (2018)	Tomkins

Pleasantness and activation		Tomkins
Intransigence, compulsion, and accident	Schaefer (2015)	Spinoza

In light of the above indicators, I focused on two specific areas (social, and religious lives) to explore affect and (less intently) emotions in experiences of migrants with transnational links. The indicators would prove useful in my thinking of codification and development of themes during data analysis.

4.5 Data processing, analysis, and presentation

The process of data collection, processing and analysis is not rigid and clearly defined because some stages overlap and the thought process moves back and forth at times with meticulous precision and at times lurching forward and then balking.

Where an interview, sermon, testimony, or speech was recorded in English, the researcher uploaded the audio file onto his Otter.ai[33] account for transcribing. This was applicable where audibility was clear and was succeeded by a manual check of the transcript for accuracy. In cases where recordings were of poor sound quality or predominantly in Ndebele or Shona, the researcher did the transcriptions himself. Thereafter, the transcription was saved onto the researcher's computer using a coding system based on the nature of the interview. For example, where the interview was with a key informant and it was the first one conducted, the saved file name would be KI1. Where the interview was for the laity, a format akin to LSS1 was used.

Selected images were edited using a combination of CorelDraw X7 and Picasa 3. CorelDraw enabled me to remove logos, and manipulate textures while Picasa was useful for colour transformations.

[33] Due to concerns over data security, I contacted officials at Otter.ai to ensure that the data that I uploaded were not used by the company for other purposes (I attach the email exchange in the Appendix 3).

Data analysis

During the process of gathering data, the researcher repeatedly checked notes for clarity and to get a sense of the issues which kept consistently emerging. Resultantly, by the time that analysis had to be done some consistent categories had been identified and these were then classified into themes. To then analyse the data, the researcher resorted to thematic analysis. A thematic analysis 'focus[es] on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is, themes' (Guest et al., 2012, p.9). The approach adopted was consistent with Agrosino's steps which suggest that processing and analysis entails:

- Organizing notes, using thematic categories drawn from the literature if possible.
- Reading through the notes and modify categories as necessary.
- Sorting data into the modified categories.
- Counting the number of entries in each category for purposes of descriptive statistical analysis (if the sample is large enough to permit it).
- Looking for patterns in textual materials, using a variety of presentation formats as aids (Angrosino, 2008, p.73).

Yin (2016) adds that analysis entails compiling, disassembling, reassembling, interpreting, and concluding. The steps were a guideline and were therefore not necessarily followed sequentially as some steps could be applied concurrently. They were also complemented by following some of Castleberry & Nolen's (2018) recommendations such as relying on quotes from participants for thematic robustness, clarity and consistency in the analysis phase.

4.6 The Ethics of Research

In this final section, I attend to the ethics which guided and gave the researcher scope on how to go about conducting fieldwork. To start off, "nothing is self-evident. Nothing is given. Everything is constructed" (Bachelard, 2002, p.25 cited in Schmidt-Wellenburg & Bernhard, 2020). The constructed nature of what one sets out to observe implies that there are aspects which demand sensitivity on the part of the researcher. There is very little that one encounters in research that comes with no vested interest. As such, one is always mindful of what to say, to do, how to behave

and how to engage. Such issues were foremost in the researcher's mind especially when recruiting an interviewee or when following-up with the assistant.

As a researcher, I had to ensure data privacy and protection during collection (Singh, 2006) and after fieldwork. All this was to be done while maintaining ethical standards through adhering to the guidelines outlined by the University ethics committee. The complexities of adhering to ethics are manifold. For a start, anonymity is unlikely to be enforceable during data collection. It is in data synthesis, analysis and report writing that all participants were anonymised. To avoid third party access to the data which the researcher collected, data in the form of audio files was immediately stored to the researcher's Google Drive and backed up onto an external hard drive. Secondary data collected as well as notes from interviews were kept by the researcher in notebooks and scanned copies were stored in Google Drive.

Although I had detailed the ethical considerations which would be observed, I had not anticipated the actual politics of ethics in the field. To start off, I obtained ethical clearance H19/08/39 from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical). In my application, I had identified the key ethical matters which would be paramount to my engagement with participants in the field as follows: anonymity, confidentiality, informed consent, data privacy and protection and right to withdraw. However, I was to discover in the course of fieldwork, these ethical matters are not given but can become sites of contestation and serious engagement.

To start off, I attend to anonymity and confidentiality which are different but closely related. I agree with Saunders et al., (2015) that anonymity is part of confidentiality where confidentiality refers to "*all* information that is kept hidden from everyone except the primary research team". Anonymity then becomes a concern for the masking of specific pieces of data which serve as identity markers and are deemed sensitive by the researcher. Anonymising identities is not an exact science. The key areas of concern in making identities anonymous were personal details such as name and surname, demographic data, location, and the presentation of narrations of personal experiences. Names of places which may have been revealing of the church or its members were altered.

Writing on informed consent, Robson & McCartan (2016) indicate that although some studies may attempt to justify the need to avoid informing participants for fear of compromising behaviours that must be studied, failure to inform participants is an equally unethical practice to undertake. This is because informing a participant allows them to either opt in or opt out while adding the option to withdraw at any time. I introduced myself as a student researcher from Wits (as the University of the Witwatersrand is colloquially known) especially when negotiating interviews in person. My assistant also made clear that she was helping me out in an academic project and provided participants with my details. Observations made for impracticability of gaining informed consent. For example, I could not attend gatherings or events and distribute informed consent forms to those in attendance. The church leadership was fully aware of my position and so too were many of its members. Although I submitted a request for an announcement of my position to be made in church, this request was not immediately honoured and so I personally gave notice of my work through a growing network of acquaintances. It is quite possible that some people did not get an opportunity to learn the details about my study, especially considering the fact that some people visited once and did not return after. Moreover, there are others with whom I did not speak for various reasons, chief of which was that they often immediately left after the completion of a church service. Others also did not attend events. In such cases and having informed the leadership of my study, these people who were not spoken to directly become passive consenters (Lune & Berg, 2017).

In some instances, I noted that there were layers to consent. Although the church had granted me permission to conduct research, I also noted that while some people were comfortable with my conducting observations in church and during events and gatherings, they were unwilling to participate in one-on-one interviews. Where interviews were undertaken, informed consent forms were often sent a few days prior to the interview and then reiterated before the interview was conducted. Because many interviews were conducted telephonically, on WhatsApp and in a few instances via Zoom Meetings, informed consent forms were signed and submitted back digitally. Most participants agreed to all conditions with a few declining to be

recorded. Due to concerns over COVID, some consent forms were digitally signed and submitted via email or WhatsApp.

4.7 Conclusions

In this chapter I have presented the methodology deployed in the study. In doing this, I have tied the research ideation to its operationalisation and fruition. Although this has been portrayed in this single chapter, the actual workings and processes are reflected in the chapters that run through the entire document. Hence the ideation phases have been attended to in the initial chapters while the writing and analysis find voice in the forthcoming chapters. The current chapter has merely presented a static portrayal of this very dynamic process. In making the presentation, it has highlighted the research tradition that was followed, and why the multi-sited ethnography was necessary using affective lens. The following chapters present the research findings and analyses, dimensions whose architecture has been discussed here.

Chapter 5: 'You are under the authority of someone': building and negotiating affective community at SIT

5.1 Setting the tone for affective community: An introduction

This chapter attends to affective community which is a concept that will be elaborated. To initiate the discussion, we encounter the church founder and a senior subordinate attending to a matter which shook the church in Johannesburg and had ramifications even in Zimbabwe.

> On Sunday 02 June 2019, the founder of SIT, Bishop Moyo together with a senior pastor from Zimbabwe Snr Rev Calaway, made a visit to the Newtown branch. Although catching some people by surprise, the visit appears to have been anticipated by some members seeing as it was a combined service comprising of guests from other branches in Johannesburg. Bishop Moyo did not mince his words nor beat around the bush, making clear that the news he was about to impart would be jolting. Quickly and clearly, he informed the congregation that there would be leadership changes before inviting the incumbent pastor to explain why. The incumbent and now-outgoing pastor explained that an audit of accounts had revealed financial irregularities in the church's books. He then proceeded to acknowledge responsibility for the impropriety. Having explained the precarious financial position of the branch's finances as well as the cause, the incumbent took his seat so that the founder could resume his delivery which lasted for close to 45 minutes.
>
> A question-and-answer session followed, allowing any willing member in the congregation to pose questions to the Bishop, a time during which no camera recordings were allowed in the audience as well as by the church media team. This session lasted between 45 minutes and an hour. Initially there were hardly any questions but once a few were posed and responded to openly, members began to participate more freely. Although not quite a flurry of questions, there certainly was openness to proceedings with members seeking further clarity where they were unsatisfied.
>
> After the session, a vibrant and rousing praise and worship session ensued. By this time, some members of the congregation were visibly shaken with two ladies temporarily exiting in tears. Meanwhile, the bishop once again took over proceedings, delivering a sermon consistent with the declaration of the period (understanding prophetic anointing). After his sermon, he invited Snr Rev Calaway to lead in collecting the offering. Considering that the reason for the visit had been financial impropriety and restitution of good governance, the researcher anticipated that offerings would be low. After all, why would a member give their hard-earned money to an organisation which had clearly admitted financial negligence in the past 14 months? The response – if this is what it was – was beyond emphatic. The congregation responded by giving in large number (Observations in Newtown, 02.06.2019)

The above incident captures the chapter's main focus which is understood through affective community. Affective community in turn sets up a broader discussion of two interweaving concepts: affective solidarity and curatorship in the church.

The chapter argues that affective community is collectively moderated and socially produced through practices and discourses in organisations. Affective community emanates from corporate and corporeal relations which foster unity but can also produce conflict. When Bishop came to Newtown, a key element – loyalty – in construction of the church's affective community had been breached. The then leader had been financially negligent, pilfered funds and was therefore disloyal to the senior leadership and the church as a whole. The ashamed culprit who stood alone — with his wife not in attendance — had breached sworn commitments to respect and honour the church and its leadership. Moreover, in betraying the trust and expectations on him, he had also stepped out of the Bishop's spiritual covering. In this sense, because of his actions, performance of his role and duties had to be temporarily relinquished while a moral cleansing process or restoration of his soul (which I understand as curatorship) was facilitated. The withdrawal would also help to reclaim trust in the spiritual house, the church. Part of the restoration process entailed the disgraced leader attending church in Pretoria while getting counselling and guidance from other peers until his suspension period expired. This latter set of processes encompasses cure of the soul which was necessary to correct his disloyalty and financial transgressions.

The financial scandal sets the tone for exploring organisational constructions of affective community at SIT. Building on Chapter 2's broad theoretical points, this chapter acknowledges collective affects (Claborn, 2010; Resch et al., 2021; Walkerdine, 2010), and social affects (Lawler, 2001). Such corporate social affects ephemerally present as collective effervescence (Barnwell, 2018; Gofman, 2014), or settle to form affective community/solidarities (Hemmings, 2012), and affective relations (Cifor, 2016; Pedwell, 2014). Adding to this scholarship and consistent with (Maksić, 2017), the chapter argues that affective community is (co)produced through mobilising discursive elements, signifiers and symbols. In intimating production, I am suggesting that the material and immaterial converge as members sense homeliness to ideas, objects and materials associated with the church. In doing so, it addresses the (co)production, reproduction, and distribution of affects which has so far been inadequately addressed and theorised particularly in transnational religious assemblages. Organisational construction and circulation of affect is conceptually built from affect as socially emergent and bindi ng (Röttger-Rössler &

Slaby, 2018; von Scheve, 2018). This construction, through practices (Wetherell, 2012) and discourses (Kanai, 2017) principally within the church, yields affective community.

I focus on production and construction of affect because while affects may be autonomous, within Pentecostal contexts, they do not erupt and diffuse without mediation. They also do not organically cascade from an organisation's top tier down to its lower rungs. Rather, affects are harnessed, co-produced, managed, curated, and distributed in 'social exchanges' (Lawler, 2001; Lawler et al., 2014; Lawler & Thye, 1999) which hinge on unity and community as binding forces. This process has implications for the formation and sustenance of affective community, the internal relations in the church – which I later explore through affective solidarity[34] – as well as the ways in which relations are recovered, healed, and cured in affective curatorship. Some of these issues are discussed in later chapters. For now, we must explore, how affective community was established at SIT.

5.2 Constructing affective community: the Bishop, church pedagogy and a home for members

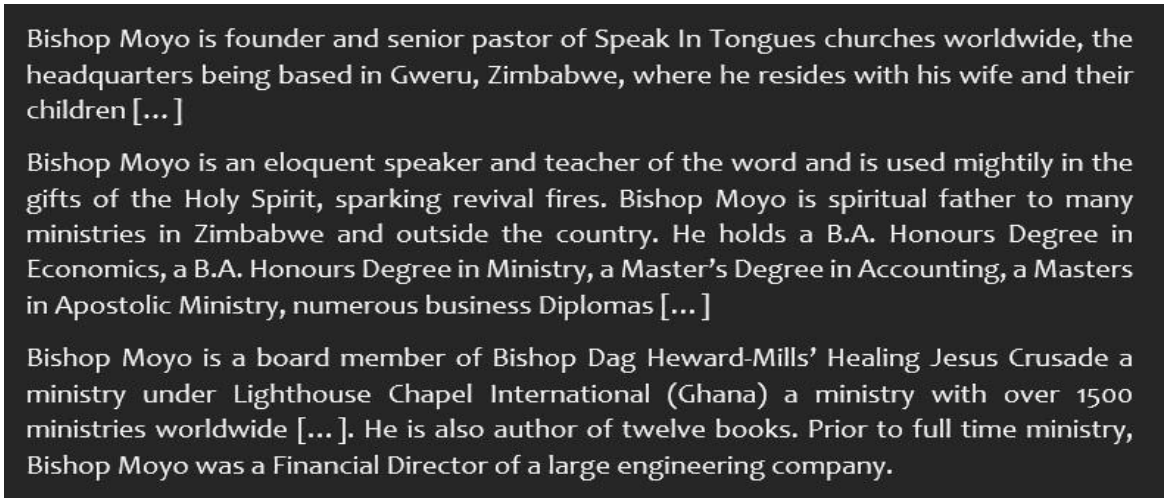
Affective community was predominantly formed from three crucial elements, namely, the bishop, church teachings and depictions of church as a home. These three are not exclusive, they intersect at various levels, drawing people together but also encountering contestations within the church. Hence, while the broad slant points towards establishing unity, there are notable instances where unity is contested. In this sense, affective community is not inherently positive. I traced discourses and practices of loyalty, fathership/sonship, authority, leadership, and covering.

5.2.1 Bishop Moyo: the unifier

Bishop Moyo is arguably the centrepiece in the church's formulation of affective community because of his position as founder, leader, and conductor of the church. He was portrayed as an erudite, and professional man of many competencies. I refer to one such excerpted characterisation in the fifth edition of the church global magazine in Figure 3 below.

[34] Chapter 6 and 7 explore the practical workings of affective solidarities.

Figure 3: Characterisation of Bishop Moyo



Bishop Moyo is founder and senior pastor of Speak In Tongues churches worldwide, the headquarters being based in Gweru, Zimbabwe, where he resides with his wife and their children [...]

Bishop Moyo is an eloquent speaker and teacher of the word and is used mightily in the gifts of the Holy Spirit, sparking revival fires. Bishop Moyo is spiritual father to many ministries in Zimbabwe and outside the country. He holds a B.A. Honours Degree in Economics, a B.A. Honours Degree in Ministry, a Master's Degree in Accounting, a Masters in Apostolic Ministry, numerous business Diplomas [...]

Bishop Moyo is a board member of Bishop Dag Heward-Mills' Healing Jesus Crusade a ministry under Lighthouse Chapel International (Ghana) a ministry with over 1500 ministries worldwide [...]. He is also author of twelve books. Prior to full time ministry, Bishop Moyo was a Financial Director of a large engineering company.

Source: Fifth Edition Global Speaker Magazine, 2016, p.02

Spiritual, professional, academic, and relational competence were woven into the character of the bishop and SIT moulded itself after this urbane, cosmopolitan figure. In this sense, Bishop Moyo had claims to wielding cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Beyond the professional and spiritual competencies, he was characterised as the church's spiritual father. Much like the religious leaders in Obadare & Adebanwi's (2010) study, Bishop Moyo was consulted and gave counsel over many religious, professional and personal matters. He was a wise father to some, showing care for his flock as was the case in the trip in June 2019. Because of this, he was the central figure in the church, and this enabled him to bring disparate branches and their members into one global religious community. A starting point to forming this community was the setting up of branches themselves.

Recalling the time when he arrived in Johannesburg in 2005, one of my interlocutors, Mhlonishwa had the following to say:

> That's when God came in and came in strongly. So, I think when I landed here it was a Monday. On Thursday I got a SMS that SIT is opening in South Africa. So, on Saturday, on the Saturday of my first week, we met at – what's the name of the park? I've forgotten. What's that park close to the tent? There's a park there close to the tent. You know the tent in Yeoville? (Interview with Mhlonishwa, 24.01.2021)

The SMS which Mhlonishwa received was sent from Zimbabwe by the church leadership. In his recollection,

> They literally tracked the people, the numbers of people who had gone to South Africa. So the guy sent us the SMSes and I still remember who sent..who gave them my number. (Interview with Mhlonishwa, 24.01.2021)

The Cape Town branch was founded in a similar manner after one female member based in Zimbabwe and known to the Bishop got married to a male member who was already in Cape Town. As narrated by Daniel,

> Cape Town she is literally the reason [why the branch was formed] coz guy was already in Cape Town but we didn't have a branch; guy was a Speaker but I didn't even know him…so when she got married she resettled from Bulawayo to Cape Town. Bishop literally called and said Jillian is now in Cape Town, can you open a branch now (Interview with Daniel, 24.01.2021).

Bishop was a central figure in the establishment of these church branches in South Africa. In addition to involvement in setting of branches, some pastors in South Africa were dispatched by the bishop from Zimbabwe so that they could lead new and established branches in South Africa. This was the case at Newtown prior to the 2019 debacle. The point here is that the bishop was involved in the church growth into new places as well as choosing new leaders. The expansion ensured that even in his physical absence, he had influence and authority over the growing church. The power and authority that he wielded was capillary (Fraser, 1981), deployed at individual branch level through appointed officials who recognised him as principal leader. In turn, the leaders often gave bishop recognition and encouraged members to do the same using church teachings as signifiers of his legitimacy as leader, spiritual father and church patriarch.

If being part of the church expansion enabled bishop to lay the basis for community, church teachings and doctrine enabled him to entrench his role as the glue binding members together. One way in which this was done was his role and function of spiritual father. As a spiritual father to the church, the bishop was spiritually

endowed to shield his followers. Such shielding was understood as spiritual covering in the church. Spiritual covering enabled the bishop to draw "sons and daughters"/members into an affective community.

5.2.1.1 Spiritual Covering

Covering theology has its roots in a now-widely discredited Shepherding Movement which was founded in the United States. S. David Moore (2003) presents the most detailed and definitive exploration of the Shepherding Movement (or discipleship movement) from its founding as cell groups to a much wider network led by Don Bansham, Derek Prince, Charles Simpson, Ern Baxter, and Bob Munford. I will not delve into a detailed presentation of the movement's formation and activities but rather make some key remarks about the key aspects which relate to SIT.

Covering theology is a contested concept and practise (Bevere, 2001).[35] As S. David Moore puts it, "[t]he movement taught that submission to a shepherd provided spiritual 'covering' by being in right relationship to God's delegated authority in the church" (Moore, 2003, p.74). He adds that subjecting oneself to a shepherd (discipleship as it was also known), was performed through a relationship of personal pastoral care/ "shepherding care". In shepherding care, a believer was to submit to a 'personal pastor' who would help the individual develop Christian maturity (p.1). Therefore, one had to remain in the orbit of a 'delegated authority' and submit to it. Derek Prince cited in Clare (n.d.) states:

> …the New Testament requires submission to the following specific relationships...all Christians to secular government on all levels...all Christians to those who rule over them in the church...we do not obey those in authority because they are right; we obey them because they are in authority, and all authority ultimately stems from God himself (*see* Rom 13:1-5) [...] Our attitude toward those who God sets in delegated authority over us is the outward and visible expression of our attitude toward God himself.

[35] One of the sternest rebuttals is John Bevere's (2001) "Under Cover" which followed on publicly known exchanges between Bob Munford, a key figure of the Shepherding Movement and Pat Robertson who was openly against the emergent theology (See www.paludavia.com%2Fusual%2FDiscipleshipDispute1975.pdf).

Although a theological debate has prevailed around the efficacy of submission, authority, discipleship, commitment in covenant relationships, loyalty, pastoral care, and spiritual covering, my interest is in its use in formation of community, solidarity, and extension of curatorship. In this reading, covering becomes a technique with affective value spanning transnational spaces.

At SIT, covering was often referenced by the pastorate and the bishop himself. The new leader in Johannesburg whom many addressed as Reverend (or Rev in short) attended to the subject during one church service, noting that,

> Do you know what covering is? Covering simply means you are under the authority of someone. What it means is that you are under their authority in terms of er er…how they need you. So, when they say check-in and you don't check-in you have come out of their covering. Are you with me? I tell you let's meet for prayer and you don't come, you are busy out of covering. That's why most of the people that don't have covering they have lots of problems.
>
> Covering means you are under their authority; you are under their tutorship. Bishop in our apostolic house covers all of us; we are under his authority we are under his guidance we are under his leadership. Therefore, when he leads us, and he says we do declarations when I preach Declarations, I am under his covering. When I get out of Declarations I am now alone (Observations, 01 December 2019, SIT Newtown).

The address by Rev makes clear that covering[36] was hierarchical with Bishop being the church's principal cover and other levels of leadership providing cover at localised levels. The Bishop therefore not only participated in the church's expansion and selection of leaders but made claim to a pastoral gaze which was understood through covering.

[36] Variations in the terminology came in the form of terms such as shepherding and accountability, care, and fatherly love.

5.2.1.1.1 When you move away, you lose the covering.

Spiritual covering had an effect on devout members in the church. For one of my interlocutors, covering's intensity was spatially determined. It was a relevant technology whose strength waned when a person migrated from Zimbabwe to South Africa. Daniel — a key informant — had the following perspective,

> When you're in Zim you have what I call spiritual covering. Spiritual covering is when you have a lot of foundation: Christianity, apostolic fathers, and all that. When you cross the border, all the demons of the land that were suppressed, they manifest. They say welcome. Immediately! If you are really really a true Christian person, you *feel the atmosphere change*. *You feel that in this land there is nobody who is in touch with heaven* (Interview, 24.02.2021).

In indicating that the crossing of a border opened a body to attack from 'demons of the land', I understood Daniel to be suggesting that spiritual covering was affected by geopolitical boundaries. In other words, Bishop's covering was legitimate but limited to within Zimbabwe. Moving away from Bishop opened the body to attack as a member moved into a place where 'nobody [was] in touch with heaven'. In this sense, covering's affective force was felt through its loss or a change in atmosphere. One could feel that something had changed in the physical realm because of diminished covering in the spiritual. Importantly, the vacuum created by the dearth of covering from Zimbabwe was not replaced by covering from spiritual leaders in South Africa. In a sense, this perspective accounts for the suggestions by some members who opined the wanton behaviour of new members who migrated to South Africa and then refrained from attending church. By Daniel's reasoning, such errant migrants lose the covering of their leader and become exposed to the sinful practices of life in Johannesburg. Daniel's explanation could also be understood as a critique of the spiritual capital that designated church leaders in South Africa had. Such leaders could lead church groups but were incapable of sheltering them in spiritual cover. As the bishop's selected leaders, pastors stood as proxies who did not have the power to fully cover the flock[37][38]. This reading offers a timely segue to how

[37] In contrast, Rev indicated that even he had authority and power over the spiritual lives of members by virtue of being covered by bishop. In this sense, Daniel's notion of Bishop's covering limitations appears inadequate.

[38] However, as Rev had explained, bishop retained covering through teachings and his largesse of spiritual capital. These were not confined to geographic space meaning that covering was transnational.

covering was resisted by members with the effect of showing fissures in terms of spiritual community in the church.

5.2.1.1.2 Challenging covering

There were few opportunities to openly discuss covering in the church. One opportunity arose in a church service on 01 December 2019. In a talk entitled 'important relationships in one's life', Sekai a senior pastor in Newtown, alluded to respecting biological and spiritual parents in the relationships. She then invited the congregation to a question-and-answer session.

The first question which set the tone for the remainder of the interaction related to interpersonal relations among the laity while the last revisited the fatherhood matter with particular interest in the bishop as a father. Towards the end of the session, a young lady who was a member of the church choir, and who had once indicated that she was as yet unbaptised, posed a sharp question. Unlike other questions posed before her however, the young lady prefixed her question with a bible verse — *Matthew 23: 8,9*[39]. While she read both verses, her major concern was rooted in verse 9 which she read with emphasis amidst some laughter from some members of the audience. Her question then was, "is it biblical to call bishop father?" Her question was met with applause and cheering from some sections of the congregation. Sekai and Rev did not have immediate responses and so invited "anyone" to respond. Skara, a senior pastor, took up the challenge, stating that

> My understanding of that portion of scripture is that when I call you my father, in my mind and in my spirit and in my conscience, I am honouring you the same way I honour my biological father. If I say mommy to mom Reverend, I mean it. But I am not equating her to my mother. I think that's how I see it. That's my answer. Bishop is bishop, he has done a lot of work I mean if you check his history of how the church started. Someone who accepts a job for one hour –one hour! Can you imagine in Swaziland, and he gets out of that job where he's supposed to earn money…don't you think he is worthy of honour?

The congregation's response was muted with some people in the congregation grunting from where they sat. A pensive air lingered momentarily. Perhaps noticing

[39] But you are not to be called 'Rabbi,' for you have one Teacher, and you are all brothers. 9 And do not call anyone on earth 'father,' for you have one Father, and he is in heaven.

the unconvinced audience, Rev then added that it was important that "you don't build a doctrine on one scripture" and then referred to *1 Corinthians 4:15* and *Galatians 3:4*[40] (Field observations, 01.12.2019).

The exchange in church revealed apprehension in accepting covering and the bishop's fatherhood as legitimate because of questionable biblical grounding in the eyes of some dissenters. Covering was therefore not uncritically embraced even from the laity. The bishop's ability to occupy the centre of the church as a binding force and spiritual leader, was questioned. He could be respected but did not wield sufficient capital to usurp biblical instruction. Therefore, as far as his claim to fatherhood and spiritual covering were concerned, these posed a threat to establishing a cohesive spiritual and affective community. He would only be recognised up to a certain spiritually acceptable level; his covering too was unaccepted by some. With spiritual covering drawing some members into the church community while leaving some indifferent, I turn to additional arenas where affective community formed.

5.2.2 Church technologies/teachings

Discursively, the production, circulation, and management of affects in the church relied on church teachings. Church teachings were centrally formulated in Zimbabwe and announced by the bishop through what were called Declarations. The declarations were used to generate positive affects in the form of loyalty which in turn fostered community and solidarity. Loyalty also manifested as unity, obedience, and submission to authority. In discussing church teachings, I do not suggest that they were principal mechanisms through which affective community was produced. Although salient, church teachings or doctrine alone is insufficient to account for the production and sustenance of affective ties. Rather, doctrine, practice, discourse, and rituals coalesce to create affective relations which manifest in different ways. In this chapter, one such manifest way is shows of loyalty. Our focal point then, is on Declarations.

[40] Here the Rev was most likely referring to verse 7

5.2.2.1 Declarations

On Saturday 14 December 2019, I made my way to the auditorium which served as a venue for SIT's annual global convention. Having arrived in the city of Gweru a day earlier, I had interacted with some church members especially a lady with whom I had, by chance, travelled from Masvingo. She could not hide her excitement about attending and that she would be part of the gathering to receive Bishop's Declarations live. Declarations are six themes which were announced annually by the bishop — often at the church's global convention. These themes guided the church teachings for the calendar year. One theme was taught for two months before moving on to another. In this sense, Declarations bound all churches across the globe in a cohesive teaching programme which was held concurrently throughout the year. Declarations for the year 2020[41] were announced as follows:

Table 4: Apostolic Declarations 2020

Declaration	Period covered
End time revival	Jan/Feb
Apostolic anointing	Mar/Apr
Understanding loyalty and disloyalty	May/Jun
Understanding the end time principles of fathering and sonship	Jul/Aug
Church growth principles	Sep/Oct
Breaking the grip of poverty and barrenness in our times	Nov/Dec

Although new Declarations were announced every year, they were often recycled from previous years with minor modifications. Hence, themes such as loyalty, backsliding and end time revival often featured every year. They formed the church's staple teachings.

Declarations brought church branches into one religious community — at least as far as teaching was concerned — led by the bishop. To highlight this, Rev Kudzai who led the Pretoria church and sub-region added that,

[41] For Declarations since 2018, see Appendix 4

> Not anyone can make an official statement. So, there are people who can speak on behalf of an organisation on behalf of a company. And those people have the capacity to make official statements. So, when Bishop declares, it is an official statement, and sons and daughters have to run with that official statement (Observations in Pretoria, 03.01.2021)

No church branch could opt to initiate new teachings which were not within the framework of Declarations. Declarations were therefore tied to the Bishop's extraordinary office which commanded power and authority while also demanding loyalty.

5.2.2.2 Producing loyalty in church

Loyalty and respect for authority were subtly demanded from church members at the church convention and on many other occasions. The emotiveness and affectivity of loyalty (Connor, 2007) lay in its capacity to inspire unity and engender notions of community. To effect loyalty, members were cast as the founder's "sons and daughters" in spiritual terms. Members were expected to be loyal to the church, its founders and to one another and this was communicated with regularity. The sixth edition of the church flagship magazine emphasised that "loyalty values relationships", "loyalty seeks to honour God", and "loyalty rewards" (p.5). Rev Kudzai also had the following to say,

> Why do you need loyalty? Because faithfulness is key. You can't get elevation and promotion without loyalty. The Bible says he that is faithful with little can be entrusted with much promotion come through loyalty and faithfulness (Observations, 03 January 2020)

In this sense, loyalty was not just an end in itself but could be understood as a productive element, a means to an end. It was generative of relational ties which variably bound members to their leaders depending on circumstances and needs. If one wanted some benefits to accrue to their lives, then it was best to be loyal to leaders.

To establish loyalty in the church's high echelons, public ordinations were conducted during annual conferences. At such functions, the ordinands comprised of Senior

Reverends, Reverends, Senior Pastors, Pastors, and Elders. The 2019 event was the last conference to be physically held before COVID set in. Here, ordinands representing countries such as South Africa, United Kingdom, Swaziland, and Namibia took part amidst excitement and anticipation. With Bishop leading, they were urged to make an oath of office by repeating that:

> I pledge to align myself to the vision and the spirit of this ministry wherever I go. According to 2 Timothy 3:7, I will fight a good fight…According to 1 Corinthians 4:2 I pledge to be loyal and faithful in my conduct, speech, and attitude; according to 1 Corinthians 5:2, I shall not be motivated by financial gain or dishonourably motivated by the advantages and proceeds that belong to my office. According to 1 Corinthians 4:15 which says, "even if you had ten thousand guardians in Christ, you do not have many fathers, for in Christ Jesus I became your father through the gospel", say this pledge after me, "I pledge to respect and honour the seniors, the fathers and the patriarchs of this ministry" *(Observations, Bishop 14.12.2019)*.

In making such commitment, the ordinands were overtly recognising the bishop and other senior officials as supreme leaders while also pledging loyalty and allegiance.

A similar exercise was followed in Johannesburg early in January 2020. On this occasion, a Senior Reverend from Zambia officiated in a combined service where members from across Johannesburg converged. The event entailed the ordination of a pastor, ministers as well as graduands from the church's theology school. Just as the other ordinands in Zimbabwe had done, the ordinands in Johannesburg were asked to repeat after the Senior Reverend. The church was then asked to also repeat a pledge of allegiance to the pastor which partly went as follows:

> ***Senior Reverend:*** She has pledged towards you. I need also for you to pledge towards her. Do you pledge to receive her as a minister of the gospel of our lord Jesus Christ and as a shepherd? If you do, you say, I do.
>
> ***Church:*** I do.
>
> ***Senior Reverend:*** Do you pledge to obey her and to support her? If you do, you say, I do.

Church: I do.

Senior Reverend: Do you pledge to honour her, to respect her as an ordained minister of the gospel of the lord Jesus Christ. If you do, you say, I do.

Church: I do.

Senior Reverend: God bless you, please sit down. (Fieldwork Observations, 26 January 2020, Newtown Church)

From the foregoing, I understood the construction of loyalty as hierarchical and multitiered. Most importantly, it entailed the decentring of the bishop via his appointed and ordained officials reaching out to lower levels of leadership and the laity at large with demands for loyalty. Such a devolved system created 'communities of solidarity' (Katsaura, 2017) which had trans-border manifestations (Ramirez, 1999). Decentring the bishop yielded multiple loyalties sometimes tied to the bishop, in other instances tied to the local church and in some instances tied to pastors in different locations. These multiple loyalties were understood to imply different intensities of affective relationalities and therefore community. Bishop commanded the most loyalty across the membership and then other pastors and leaders had variable levels of command and influence. I reflect on a talk which was delivered by a female reverend while I was in Zimbabwe.

After the annual conference in December 2019, I attended a church service which was held in Masvingo. My justification at the time was to get a sense of whether services in Zimbabwe had a different feel compared to those in South Africa. Services were largely similar save for the use of language in their conduct as well as in dominant choices of music. I was pleasantly surprised when one of the church leaders addressed the church about how she maintained ties with a member who had relocated to South Africa. The leader indicated that whenever the member had a dream which caused her to worry, they would talk about it on WhatsApp but after some time, the member was encouraged to be more assertive to fight her own spiritual battles. At the same meeting, a parent who stood up to give thanks to God in the form of a testimony indicated that she had a daughter in South Africa who had a degree in Accounting. The daughter was unemployed for some time until her

mother “shared” the predicament with pastors in Zimbabwe. After the “sharing”, the daughter was called for an interview within a month where she was offered a job and told "*ndiwe munhu watanga takamirira*/you are the person we were looking forward to". Soon after, the daughter kept getting calls to other interviews, but would not respond because she had secured the job she had always wanted.

The two narratives highlighted how concerns over spiritual matters and economic challenges magnified ties between distant members based in South Africa and their leadership from back in Zimbabwe. It is unlikely that the members based in South Africa did not have access to pastors there. What they did not have access to were pastors whom they could entrust with their intimate fears and hopes; pastors to whom they had immense loyalty and close affective ties.

Kleinig (2022) states that loyalty has “an affective bondedness that may express itself in deeds, the latter more as an epiphenomenon than as its core.” In this sense, loyalty is affective and at SIT, was initiated through verbal commitment and then actions. Moreover, much like care and networks in a study conducted by Wood (2021), loyalty in SIT brought many layers of the church into a multi-tiered community. The numerous layers of connectedness were evident in the relations that members had with their pastors as discussed in this section, as well as in forms of participation in some church programs such as construction at the main church site. The following segment details loyalty through construction of the church building and adherence to church programs.

5.2.2.2.1 Demonstrating loyalty to the church: Building God a house

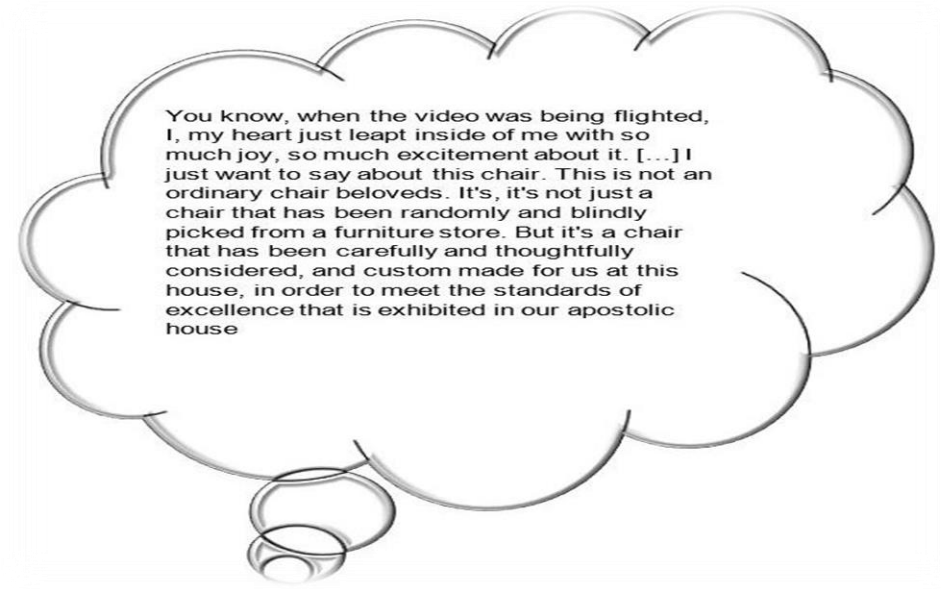
At the time of conducting the study, construction of the church’s main auditorium in Zimbabwe was in full swing. Initiated by Bishop’s vision from the 1990s, the 10,000-seater was approaching completion, largely funded by donations, offerings, special offerings, pledges, and hosting of events in all branches across the globe.

In 2019, the often-repeated phrase was “if you build God a house, surely he will build one for you”. Although framed as a transaction, building was also affective as it tapped into aspirations, desires and hopes of material success of many members (Maxwell, 1998) while also revealing their commitment and loyalties to the church goal/vision. Materials and buildings can be infused with affect as Alice Street (2012)

demonstrates through hope and disappointment inscribed on a hospital building in Papua New Guinea (see also Burchardt, 2019). At SIT, the church building and the materials in the building, were imbued with affective qualities as a chair campaign revealed.

In April 2020, a "donate a chair" campaign was initiated and communicated via social media through the international office. Members were invited to buy or invite someone to buy a plaque which would then be attached to a chair in the new church headquarters' auditorium. The plaque would bear the name of the person who "bought" the chair, and this would be a reminder for posterity. Presentations that were made during the Women's Ministry campaign session were revealing of the value attached to the plaques and labelling. In Figure 4 below, I present some key contributions offered by some women who participated in the meeting.

Figure 4: "This is not an ordinary chair"



Adding to the perspective above, another contributor had the following to say:

> Good day to you ma'am, and all Women's Ministry ladies as well as our viewers from all over the world. Thank you very much mom for the opportunity to unveil the memorial chair category. In the word of God, we can actually pick up various memorials from the scriptures. For example, in Joshua chapter four verse 22-24, we see memorial stones [...] We see also memorial prayers and memorial offerings. What is a memorial? Memorial is [...] the simple definition of memorial

> is a constant reminder, or continuous reminder to remind us of persons to remind us of places to remind us of past events.
>
> Therefore, in this category, we want to appeal to […] to people like you and I who possibly have loved ones who have long gone. People like grandparents, it could be parents, a mother, or a father, it could be siblings, your brother, or your sister. It could be your children. It could be a husband who passed on, it could be your wife who passed on. We just want to invite you today to join us and buy or have those chairs in memory of all those people that I mentioned. For example, I could buy a chair in loving memory of my late mother and get her name engraved at the back of the chair and donated. We are therefore offering that opportunity to you and all our viewers all over the world to have memories of your loved ones in the house of God. Please note, this does not mean we worship the dead. The sole purpose of this is to have a constant reminder of our loved ones. Should you have your loved one you want to buy a chair in memory of, please do that.

The church construction and the chair campaign would bind participants to the building and the church beyond the construction phase with transnational reach. It demonstrated membership commitment to the project while also appealing to private and social sentiments (remembrance, love, honour). However, instead of being presented as a personal exercise, the activity was cast as integral to worship. In this sense, it fused member sentiments with church demands, making the exercise a project for the religious community. Those who were truly committed to the church and loyal to its agenda would be identified through contributions to the project.

Given that the project was also tied to the bishop's vision, participating in it also meant being loyal to his vision. I was not able to determine the level of participation over the years but considering that the project commenced in 2006 and was still incomplete in September 2022, it is safe to surmise that support was not universal in the church. Where some failed to show commitment and loyalty through supporting church building, they could attempt to do so by attending global events.

5.2.2.2.2 Global Religious events

In the church construction, affective ties were tied to materials. In global events, affective relations resonated around the material and the subjective (Navaro-Yashin, 2012). Religious events were held in the church and served to bring people

from disparate parts of the globe into one community, at the very least, for the duration of the events. Attending the events carried notions of adherence, recognition of authority and demonstrations of loyalty across geography.

At the 2019 church convention that I attended, many of the attendees from South Africa were church leaders with few members of the laity in attendance. The event was the convergence of a religious family akin to the coming together of families during the festive season. In fact, the annual conference coincided with a time when migrants returned to Zimbabwe to spend time with their immediate and extended families. In this sense, the spiritual family also became part of the visiting itinerary just before Christmas.

In addition to the annual convention, other global events included the annually held Tabitha Teachings. Tabitha Teachings were inspired by the biblical character in Acts 9:36 and served "to assist communities such as orphans, clean-ups of public spaces and helping the elderly among other things" (Sekai interview, 08.03.2021). Sekai who was a senior pastor, added that the bishop's wife Senior Rev Mirriam Moyo had founded the day. In the words of another key informant,

> as a global church, we have a global day that is dedicated to Tabitha Teachings. So, it's dedicated mainly for the ladies' ministry to do something without expecting anything in return, then the children as well have a Global Day of Outreach. (Interview with Pastor Dube, 29.04.2020).

The day was not merely a social outreach occasion but constituted coordination across transnational lines to proselytise through compassionate deeds. Some of the activities on the day included executing roles which mimicked gendered performances of care and compassion. For example, in August 2019, a few "available men" were encouraged to attend as security personnel/volunteers carrying out physically taxing work. Women on the other hand would prepare meals for beneficiaries, clean properties and perform nurturing and care work. Such roles evoked gendered affective labour (cf. Boris & Parreñas, 2010; Pedwell, 2014). Moreover, events such as Tabitha Teachings were platforms where women could come together and participate in a common activity while extending their affective labour as expected by the church. In this sense, Tabitha Teachings as a day was also about affective roles and community among the women membership in the church

and in the public fray[42]. In the church, the day was yet another event which highlights membership adherence to church authority, in this instance Senior Rev Mirriam Moyo.

5.2.2.3 Challenging authority, showing disloyalty

Although loyalty was expected and demanded from the church membership and leaders through commitment to the Bishop, church building, and church events, there were instances of disloyalty. I did not try to grasp the moral value that disloyalty generated although it was clearly discouraged and attracted disciplining. Instead, I understood disloyalty as yet another way of revealing affective relations. Disloyalty to leaders was foremost understood as disloyalty to their appointing authority, God. To demonstrate how seriously (dis)loyalty was taken, sermons often cited instances of generous reward or stiff punishment. Texts such as *John 6: 70-71, Luke 15:11-32* and passages covering the character Delmas[43] were often interpreted literally. Speaking on the prodigal son, one of my key informants, Conrad stated that:

> Many of us we are in this position, we are in this position where we don't value the relationship we have with our fathers — with our spiritual fathers; and sad to say even sometimes with our biological fathers. You are where you have lost the value of that relationship. [...] Prodigal sons don't understand a relationship. They look at the father as an ATM machine who only gives them what they are looking for and as soon as I get what I want I am leaving, I am running away because they don't understand the value of a relationship […] a prodigal mindset is a mindset that trivialises the value of a relationship. *Sometimes we must stay put for the sake of a relationship with the father*. Sometimes we obey a father because of the relationship, sometimes we have to follow a father cos of the relationship, sometimes we have to go through difficult moments because of the relationship.

[42] In contrast, the Men's Fellowship does not have a similar day which also encourages them to perform similarly compassionate roles. Instead, their designated day is slated as a social function characterised by braai, playing soccer or some other sport and then teachings from the bible.

[43] Often referenced and discussed was 2 Timothy 4:10

Conrad's words highlight the command that spiritual fathers such as Bishop Moyo have in some members' lives. Much like biological fathers, spiritual fathers were to be valued. Failure to obey them was here likened to behaving like the prodigal son who was ignorant of the value of maintaining a healthy relationship with his father. On the other hand, loyal followers were like the obedient "son"[44]. Such a son was not drawn to separatism, participated in church activities and obeyed instructions. When such a role was performed, blessings would most likely accrue. Such messages — which applied to sons across the globe — were commonly shared both in South Africa and in Zimbabwe. For example, the headquarters branch flighted sermons and post-sermon discussions with titles such as "A look at sons *vs* hirelings", "Dealing with difficult sons" and "The Power of the father's spoken blessing to sons". Despite the church's efforts and idealised relations such as described by Conrad, incidences of disloyalty manifested. Their outcomes and implications for community in the church were evident among the laity.

Referring back to the opening vignette, disloyalty had not only been shown to the bishop but to the laity as well. With disappointment and betrayal widely felt, it is conceivable to imagine that there were fears that such a scandal would precipitate 'exit' (Hirschman, 2004) in the form of a split of the Johannesburg branch[45] or an exodus of the laity. In fact, reflecting on the incident over a year later, one member at the Newtown branch, Bubbles (female, 44yrs), was adamant that an exodus had ensued. After I suggested that I had been informed that hardly anyone quit the church, she responded as follows:

> Even my sister who was even there is no longer in SIT [argh]....[*laughs*] that time. She left that time 2019. You know, there's so many people that left but if you are like ignorant, you know, you don't care, you won't even see that people left. I don't blame the person. That's ignorance. Yes. Coz there are some people that you can ask do you know so and so in church [...] They don't even know anyone (WhatsApp call interview with Bubbles, 11.02.2021).

[44] Although the relation which is articulated identifies sons and fathers, the rules apply to females just as they do to males. That is, the rules are not strictly gendered but mark out positions of power within the polity.

[45] Splits in the main church branch in Johannesburg had previously occurred in 2008 and in 2015.

Conversely, Mhlonishwa did not see any change in the church composition even though he admitted that the church database had long been neglected for updating. From my observation of pictures taken before and after the incident, it appeared that Bubbles might have exaggerated the magnitude of exit while Mhlonishwa severely underplayed it. People had exited but not in droves. Either way, exiting the church was a mark of disloyalty. Defectors or the 'backslidden' as they were more commonly identified in the church were — in some instances – approached and convinced/wooed back into the church fold. However, in other instances, they were left to continue with life outside of the church[46].

Earlier on, we observed the galvanising effect of materials through the church building project. It was observed that materials served to enhance affective ties between members and the church. However, in keeping with the focus on disloyalty, there were many instances when members shied away from participating and therefore resisted being embedded into an affective community. One such incident happened in the South African church's infancy. Mhlonishwa recalled an incident where an event was organised by members which defied Pentecostal religious practices:

> It was New Year's Eve or Christmas eve, one of the two. On Christmas eve we were at church and there was a plan to buy other instruments. So, there was money that had been raised but we were short of R200. This is 2006. We were short of R200 to buy instruments. So, donations were collected, pledges and offerings. People gave R10 notes, we were about 20 or 20 of us. I think it wasn't enough and we said we would see in the next month. The service came to an end. As soon as the service ended, someone came up with an idea that we do something for Christmas. A plan was devised immediately. But the plan needed funding. R50 contributions came forth instantly (laughs) to be used for alcohol and meat. I think we raised about R1500 while outside. We danced all night (Interview with Mhlonishwa, 24.01.2021).

[46] The incident in 2019 was one of many points of schism in the Johannesburg area since 2006 when SIT formally opened branches in South Africa. In my interviews, some notable ruptures had also occurred after the church -then based in Midrand- had struggled under the leadership of a pastor who eventually left. In 2015 with the church now located in Braamfontein, another leadership dispute erupted culminating in the then senior pastor leaving SIT to form his own church. Desertion was therefore not uncommon.

This attitude towards church versus secular events had in some respects not changed. The behaviour persisted from these infancy years to the time that I conducted my research. For example, most members avoided proselytising and even participating in some church social events and church activities such as the nightly check-in/out prayer logs[47]. I managed to participate in some such engagements. Together with nine members, I took part in a proselytising session which was held in the inner city close to Alec Gorshel Park on 15 February 2020. Before we departed for Hillbrow where proselytising would be held, prayers were made pleading for safety, security, courage, and confidence. Considering that the area where the proselytising would be held covered Hillbrow and Berea, I was especially hopeful that the prayers would be answered[48].

Interactions were held with people who were willing to stop for a few minutes and hear what the group members had to say. To allow for wider reach, Pastor Dube split us into smaller groups of between two and three so that we walk into different parts of the area. I accompanied a gentleman with whom I was not very acquainted with as we went to Gorshel Park and its immediate environs. Among some of the people that we interacted with was one Zimbabwean lady who identified herself as Siyabonga and yet she was not only Shona-speaking but spoke poor Ndebele with a heavy Shona accent. Another lady said she was naSiya (Siya's mother). On noting that I spoke Ndebele and after I had complemented her on her son's name, she responded by noting that the names are not a bad start like Sarudzai.

[47] Checking in and checking out was a church system which relied on members posting the times that they had been awake for past-midnight prayers. Members posted the times on a set WhatsApp group to indicate what time they commenced (check-in) and what time they stopped praying (check-out).

[48] I had associated Hillbrow and the inner city with criminality because of two previous encounters. The first was not a personal experience but stemmed from an ordeal which was narrated after a participant at a conference hosted at Wits University in 2014. During the conference, one participant from Hong Kong had apparently decided to walk into Braamfontein unaccompanied. She was allegedly mugged in the area, and I immediately assumed that she had been close to Hillbrow. The second was a personal experience in 2015, when I had visited a friend who decided that we drive to Hillbrow. We got there in the afternoon and while walking around, my friend joked that in some parts of the area, Shona-speakers were not welcome. Although uneasy, I was emboldened by the relaxed demeanour which my friend maintained. In the evening, we moved to another part of Hillbrow where my friend had to meet a business associate. As soon as we parked, I heard a gunshot and then calls warning 'thief!'. A barely visible man ran into a gated building and that marked the end of the security scare.

We also approached a group of young men who milled around a sparsely populated area at the park while playing cards. I had also observed the young men hand over what appeared — from my distant position — to be cell phones. Although certainly intimidated by their number as well as their inquisitory eye, I was comforted by the fact that my colleague was a resident in the area and he spoke the street language that they too spoke. The area struck me as one where difference was especially noticed, inducing forms of insecurity. I found myself trying to blend in but not quite fitting just like the Siyabonga. No wonder that later on, towards the end of the session, Pastor Dube who was leading the group stated that although the turnout from church members was low, he was happy with the participation on this occasion. He added "sometimes I get here, and we are few and I feel depressed but once I start…". The point that Pastor Dube was raising is that most church members hardly attended proselytising sessions and those that did tended to be a small consistent group. Essentially, some members were content with simply attending church on Sunday without being very active in any church group. A few members were much more active and participated in many groups and activities.

So far, I have explored forging of affective community through loyalty to the bishop who in turn offered spiritual covering. I have also explored affective community formed through church teachings and technologies. A third mechanism through which an affective community was established in the church was via constructions of church as home. This homeliness was both idealised and, in some instances, real.

5.2.3 Homeliness (Philia – love for brethren)

In addition to the galvanising effect of bishop and church teachings, affective community condensed around church as a home. In other words, the members were portrayed as members of a home. Home retains affectivity because it is a place where love and community are shared. Drawing from Berlant's (2008) concept of 'intimate publics', the church as home is a place and a corporate body that produces affect through ideals and practices of love, care, compassion and support. In this section, I wish to focus on the church as a home that induces affective community. In a later chapter, I detail how some of the affective threads work to produce solidarity and subsequently to facilitate affective curatorship.

5.2.3.1 Church as a loving home?

Religion can engender belonging (Dilger et al., 2018), and yet some scholars have observed strangerness (van Wyk, 2014) as well. Ahmed's (2010) work on affect suggests that bodies accumulate affective value and entrench community. In this sense, some bodies are more amenable to occupying some spaces while other bodies repeatedly face exclusion. Writing on happiness, she adds that being open to affect inserts one into a community. It is useful to quote her in detail here:

> To be affected in a good way by objects that are already evaluated as good is a way of belonging to an affective community. We align ourselves with others by investing in the same objects as the cause of happiness (Ahmed, 2010, 38).

It appears that community here has positive valence in the sense that an evaluation of goodness brings a body to belong in a community. Being part of a community or belonging is the result of the circulation of shared affects. I suggest, however, that circulation of such affects must at least be seen to be equally and openly done. Failure to equitably share such affects results in sensed exclusion and distancing from the collective. At SIT, love resonated as a theme which drew members towards and also away from the church. It posed many possibilities and evoked Ahmed's (2004, 2013) discussion of fear. By love, I am here interested in love among brethren which is akin to a "loving friendship" (Mense, 2021).

Love among brethren creates intimacy. It draws would-be strangers into a socially cohesive group. It was the spur behind Thubelihle's (female based in Pretoria) move away from her former church to become a member of SIT. In speaking about her joining SIT, she detailed what had served as a catalyst in her exit from her former church.

> **Thubelihle**: *iZAOGA* I think I was driven away by their method on talents. I went there when they were busy with talents, working on that stuff about talents.

> **A.T**: So, how was it? How did the talents work? Please explain to me.

> **Thubelihle**: It's that practice when you...Like you work, let's say this year is identified as a year set aside for working towards talents. You start a

> business. So, when you start a business, whatever it is that you sell, the whole profit you send the whole profit to church for the whole year. So, basically it's a good thing because it teaches people to...it teaches people to be good with their hands. On its own it's a good thing. What I hated was the way they conduct it; you know we are different in church. I'm a social worker by profession. So, I work more with poor people. And then there was segregation in church where you find someone is dealing with buying and selling of cars, someone is buying and selling sweets which cost R1. And then every Sunday there is that thing where like to showcase who raised more money this week [*Yho*]. We're going to give presents to those who raised more money. Like you find a person is selling cars, people are buying and selling furniture, they get stoves and what what. The one who sells sweets, there is no way s/he will raise hundreds of thousands. Do you understand? So, I felt like that thing of not acknowledging a person's effort. So, I can sell sweets and make 100% profit but my 100% profit will be R200. [*Ja*]. And then one who sells cars can buy a car for R20,000 and sell it for R21,000 and their profit is R1000; we can never match. [*Ja neh*]. So, I thought that thing was worrisome and then there was a day when there is an overseer of theirs who came. Word was communicated that their grocery was to be bought by believers. A grocery was purchased and there was a lot of stuff. And then when I was going out of church there was this woman who is actually disabled, she has two kids. She had just come out of church and was trying to board a taxi with insufficient taxi fare while enduring insults from the taxi driver. So, I followed that woman and I kind of I think just realised that no one was noticing that woman as disabled as she was. so, I just got bored that this church is not looking on people who are []. So, it angered me and because it's a big church and I was new, I couldn't raise my concerns. I just decide you know what, I don't think this is going to work for me. So, I dissociated from it.

Ostensibly because some migrants only had the church to identify as family in South Africa, love was important within the community. Love in Thubelihle's case was not personal but was instead understood as a lack of empathy and collegial concern for the plight of others. In this sense, its lack was observed in the relations between church elites and a disabled woman in her former church. It signalled a shortcoming in affective community and was taken as a cue to exit the church.

Love among brethren had broad implications for relations among members. One poignant incident illuminates this position. The church regularly organised social functions for men, women, families, and youths in an effort to entrench community

and solidarity. Often these events were localised in the sense that they were conducted by a specific church branch, usually within the city that it was situated. During data collection, I attended braai outings, social soccer sessions, and men's teachings. I reflect on one specific meeting which was held primarily as a Men's Fellowship (MF) social outing.

The MF hosted a braai[49] which was held at Rhodes Park in Kensington. The event was scheduled as an outing for men wherein soccer would be played (Figure 5 below) and thereafter a braai would be had all while making time for 'sharing of the word'.

Figure 5: Men's Fellowship Social Soccer Event



While awaiting commencement of proceedings, I listened in to and engaged in an interaction between one of the pastors in attendance and a young man who was a member at one of the smaller church branches in Johannesburg. Part of the conversation went as follows:

> **Pastor Munhenzva:** Why is it when we are back home, we are reachable but here in Jozi, I hardly know where you stay? Yes, in some cases you may not be accessible because of living arrangements but…
> **Chawa:** [interjects] You guys sometimes don't have love for us. You don't look out for us.

[49] Braai is an Afrikaans word whose equivalent is barbecue. Braai is widely used in colloquial speak across South Africa.

Pastor Munhenzva: But why do you want me to look for you first?

(Fieldwork notes, 30 November 2019).

In the exchange, the pastor contrasted the reach and accessibility of members 'back home' in Zimbabwe with their inaccessibility in Johannesburg. He initially framed his questions as inclusive indicating "we" before posing it directly at Chawa whose place of residence he did not know. In response, Chawa situated the inaccessibility on the shortcomings of leadership not merely in finding out where a person lives but in their dearth of affection in the form of love. To emphasise his point, Chawa proceeded to narrate his personal encounters which compelled him to refrain from coming to church for a while before eventually opting to attend church at a different branch within Johannesburg.

Chawa stated that at some point he told one senior pastor, "you are cruel". This was after he had informed the pastor of his interest in one young lady only to learn that the pastor concerned had surreptitiously and deliberately scuppered Chawa's efforts. Presumably disappointed that a pastor had sabotaged his quest for love, Chawa then decided to quit church for a while before returning but only as a member of a completely different branch. In the intervening period, Chawa had also resolved to handle his quest for love and marriage differently. Instead of marrying a lady from church, Chawa indicated that he was now in the process of marrying a South African lady who was not a member of the church. He also added that he was not involving church officials in the process any longer. In addition, an ordeal suffered by a friend of his who fell ill and did not get visitors until she eventually went back to Zimbabwe appears to have buttressed his perception that there was little care/love from leaders within the church.

The conversation between Pastor Munhenzva and Chawa revealed framings of affect (love and insensitivity) between the two individuals but also circulation of affects within the church across emotional geographies (Boccagni & Baldassar, 2015; Bray & Moore, 2020; Lara, 2020; Thrift, 2004). Importantly, it revealed complexities attendant to social interactions in relation to two types of love. On the one hand, Chawa was eager to establish a respectable, romantic relationship with someone whom he loved. On the other, he was concerned with the lack of love and cruelty of church leaders. A perceived lack of love and 'ugly feelings' (Ngai, 2004) such as

cruelty co-existed in a setting where care, comfort, and solace ought to have dominated. Not only was love deemed lacking on the part of one individual who had let down Chawa but, its absence percolated through various layers as the additional narration about Chawa's friend revealed. Chawa and his friend were left scarred by their experiences such that Chawa stopped attending church for a while before resolving to attend from another branch. His opening up to Pastor Munhenzva might be understood as an indication that he still harboured dismay over what had happened, making the pastor who had let him down an 'unhappy object' in the context of affective community (Da Costa, 2016). Pastor Munhenzva, however, reveals that in the context of migrant life, even the pastorate needs to be attended to as well. Creating an affective community and home is contingent on a co-production of affective intimacies and ties.

At SIT, it was not just overt acts of kindness or shows of love that mattered but even mundane activities such as visiting one another. Commenting on people visiting one another, Mhlonishwa opined that

> 80% of people here migrated to make money and so people are caught up with that such that they might have time for others coz everyone is more focused on making it than church; no matter how much we try to dress it.

He went on to contrast the South African church arrangement with Zimbabwean church branches. In South Africa it is

> unlike the Zim setup where you get people who are from the same community — like I was sharing with you that we were in Hillbrow for 8 years. For the 8 years that we resided there, we only knew X and Y. The other people that I knew were Z over there at Shoprite. So social economics don't allow us to visit each other every ten minutes, it's not ideal.

The portrayal of complex living arrangements, lack of intimacy among brethren and primacy of economic pursuits suggested that broader demands held sway with some people over attending to intimate ties. In other words, demands on migrant life (Hungwe, 2015; Muzondidya, 2010; Worby, 2010) were more imposing than desire to regularly share affective ties. Moreover, although in Zimbabwe there was

community binding members, Mhlonishwa suggested that this social cohesion lacked in Johannesburg where migrants were constantly on the move both within South Africa and in the church.

Two solutions were available to members. The first constituted members becoming active agents in formulating relations and ties among each other. As Bubbles suggested,

> it starts with us, as, as people before we even mention compassion, or the Care Ministry? What do we call it Care Ministry? [yes] It's, it should start with us to be honest. You know, we see each other struggling, but what we do, you know. It's like we're not in church to be honest, you look at people around us, you see that this one is really lacking this one is struggling. But do we help them you know, it's...that's what really worries me every day. I don't have a problem with helping anyone that approaches me sometimes I don't even have to be approached. Because I know where I'm coming from. So, I'm just like Okay, I've got a pair of shoes. Yeah. What size are you? I've given guys shoes from the church. You see, because we see each other but we tend to pay to turn a blind eye; nobody cares about anyone. We are a church that's what we call a church, we are a church. So, what are we doing is like it should start from us (Interview via WhatsApp, 11.02.2021).

According to Bubbles, members could take the initiative and become actively and deliberately involved in the lives of their fellow brethren. It was incumbent on members to know and be involved in each other's lives so that when strains were felt, someone would be available to assist.

The second solution to navigating this affectively constrained social environment was to join church departments which could be understood as contained affective circuits (Cole & Groes, 2016) in the church. As Mhlonishwa put it,

> But anyway, point being with all those dynamics in place, if you join SIT in Newtown and you don't serve in any department, no one will know you. No one will ever know you *shem*. Coz the only people that will know you are the people that you are serving with. So, for us to know anything about you, it starts from

> their leader who will say ah I have from my department maybe someone close to you is ill or something. That's when the church gets an alert. Other than that, it's not easy.

In this sense, one's visibility and access to affective resources was contingent on a devolved system. Leaders of departments were the first platform for identifying and dispensing care and love. More senior leaders then got to exercise it upon learning from the departmental leader.

The love which my interlocutors spoke of was akin to the ideal conception of Christian love which is shared among brethren. However, its performance was understood in different ways as Mhlonishwa suggested; it was contingent on whether one was active in church. Welcome, a senior member suggested that it required learning from the bishop himself. In presenting the various notions, I suggest that due to different affective ties which bound members at SIT, the sense of unity in sharing and enjoying such love varied depending on whether one was involved in church departments and whether one was noticed in church. The church departments became micro-sites of affective community, offering the first and in some instances last platform for accessing love. There were some members who did not feel that they were fully included in the church as home. Their sentiments constitute our next area of discussion.

5.2.3.2 Contesting the home: affective ties of non-Zimbabweans

Some members struggled to comfortably identify the church as a home. This applied to some members whose efforts to find love were derailed as well as South African members in the church who raised concerns over the repeated references to Zimbabwe, production of audio materials largely in Shona and relatively less coverage of South African affairs. The concerns demonstrated perceptions of neglect by persons representing minority groups and possessing little influence in the church.

5.2.3.2.1 A home for non-Zimbabweans?

Welcome (a female in her thirties and active Newtown church member) noted how she had

> "probably survived SIT because I am married (laughs) [to a senior church member]; otherwise, I would been *yoh* guys, can I just go somewhere else coz I've had enough of Zimbabwe."

Besides the persistent referencing of Zimbabwe in prayers, in sermons and in the broader church discourse, Welcome was irked by the scant attention afforded to South African issues in the church. She felt that the narratives asserted Zimbabwean culture above others. She recalled how people often addressed her in Shona and it made her uncomfortable because she did not understand the language. Expressing her linguistic shortcomings foreclosed further interaction. Worse were the comments that some people had made to her indicating that "South Africans don't know how to dress appropriately at work". Mhlonishwa who had acquired South African citizenship by descent concurred, adding that Zimbabweans were generally reserved and slow to open up to locals. Maintaining a criticism of cultural blindspots, he pointed out that for a church with global aspirations, it was odd that music albums had many Shona songs. He added,

> global musicians they disappoint me *shem*. They will be singing *rarama*[50] and you think someone watching in Germany – and we have a church in Germany – do you think they will understand *pururudza nemiridzo uko*[51]?

Coupled with such criticisms were concerns about the church in Zimbabwe extending some of its social media communications to South Africa. Mhlonishwa indicated that he had insisted that Zimbabwe churches should post content about Zimbabwean programs on their Facebook platforms and not expect such posts to be made by South African branches as well. In this sense, home was bounded, relying on geopolitical boundaries to define what content could be circulated and curated on the different church platforms.

5.3 Conclusion

In concluding, I have attended to constructions of affective community through loyalty and declarations within the church at the risk of projecting SIT as a closed or enclave community. This could not be further from reality. SIT was open to

[50] Shona word for survive or live

[51] Shona phrase of encouragement which translates to "whistle in praise [where you are]"

partnering with other similar churches, often in complementary activities which mimicked Berlant's (2010) 'intimate publics' albeit between corporates, and challenged economics of religion's notion of competition among religious actors (Iannaccone, 1992; Iannaccone, 1998; Stark & Finke, 2000; Hamilton, 2011). Among others, there were partnerships and cooperation with Dag Heward-Mills (Ghana), guest appearances of prominent pastors such as Matthew Ashimolowo (United Kingdom) and musician Jackie Christopherson (United States of America). In South Africa, a firm bond was established with Grace Bible Church's Musa Sono (Interview Rev., 02 April 2020; Interview Snr. Kudzai, 31.07.2020). SIT sought to partner and/or piggyback off initiatives in Bishop Musa Sono's church such as anti-xenophobia marches (Snr Kudzai, interview 31.07.2020). Although taciturn to engage in such marches on its own, presumably to avoid drawing unwanted public attention, the church forged strategic ties which enabled it to claim engagement in topical socio-political issues. However, during my fieldwork, I did not witness active engagement in socio-political issues such as xenophobia or government policy on COVID. Instead, expressions of hope for change, desire and peaceful co-existence were made from the pulpit only. In addition to these, the church participated in local holidays with South Africa's Heritage Day celebrations occupying a special berth in the church calendar. Joy, fanfare and celebration characterised the day as members wore attire that highlighted cultural groupings in the country. Zulu, Ndebele, Tsonga and other forms of traditional garb were always on display.

Having made clear that SIT was open and dynamic, we can now recap the chapter's focal areas. The chapter has revealed the various ways in which the church as an organisation facilitated, produced, managed, and curated affects among members. It revealed that the church polity, the figure and office of the church founder, church doctrine and social events are imbued with affective value. The affects which are co-produced, shared and debated are discursively presented as loyalty, submission, covering, and love. The bishop occupied the church's centre as spiritual leader and authority demanding/commanding loyalty. In exchange, he ostensibly bestowed blessings and spiritual covering on his followers. To establish a far-reaching bond, the church could be viewed as a family which engages in various activities together. However, inflection points arose which revealed disloyalty at times with disastrous consequences.

I wish to emphasise that while much of the discussion has attended to affective community in the church, there is without doubt an indication of affective community binding church members and non-members. For example, while at Rhodes Park two ladies appeared to be romantically interested in one of the pastors with one actively following him around and seeking persistent interactions with him. The second lady soon realised that their interested would not culminate in a relationship when he not only preached to them but invited them to church. In another incident, while on our way out, a lady in the car park accidentally bumped her car into another pastor's car. The pastor's car had a damaged fender and so deliberations about repairs began. In the talks between the pastor and lady driver, it emerged that the lady was Zimbabwean. One church member then indicated that he trusted the lady to repair the car at a future date because "*ngowasekhaya*" meaning she was from "home" or Zimbabwe. Names and contact details were exchanged at the scene and the lady was encouraged to come to SIT before Sunday's church service to finalise repair arrangements. Here, trust emerges as a way in which members and non-members share mutual connection due to ethnic origin. Love and other positive emotional ties were therefore not confined to within the church alone.

Having discussed affective community in this chapter, the following chapters attend to solidarity and curatorship. In other words, they build on the organisational production of affect within the church community, to show how solidarities develop as well as how forms of care and curing translate to wider affective relations. Affective solidarity and affective curatorship are organisationally and intersubjectively constructed within SIT; they have implications on relationships in Johannesburg and Pretoria as well as into Zimbabwe.

Chapter 6: The travails and triumphs of forging affective solidarity in the church

6.1 Introduction

Having established how affects are co-produced, circulated and contested in the church and with transnational reach, the focus now turns to how affective ties are established and nurtured among members to yield affective solidarity. Engaging the literature on Pentecostal assemblages, transnational affect, emotional geographies and affective trajectories, this chapter argues that within the church, affective solidarities were (i) co-produced by the church and its members and, (ii) the solidarities formed from both dissonance and consonance in the church. Among other efforts, the church attempted to create affective solidarities through bringing young marriage-age persons into romantic relationships which would ideally culminate in marriage. These efforts yielded variable outcomes. In some instances, members resisted through establishing their own relationships away from the pastoral gaze and then holding private wedding events albeit after notifying the congregation of impending weddings. These encounters revealed the differences in affective ties in the church as invitations to weddings and involvement in marriage/wedding processes became revealing of just how close members were to each other. Such outcomes resonated with Karakayali's (2009) concept of affective distance .

In arguing that affects in transnational spaces are co-managed, I invoke Hochschild's (2003) scholarship from *The Managed Heart* albeit outside of commercial contexts. Supporting my argument with empirical data (Mitchell & Kallio, 2017) from SIT, I explore affective ties in friendships, courtship, love, marriage, and weddings. Affectivity was imbued in the aforementioned relations primarily because bodies of members and the relationships expected of them were highly regulated. Love was normatively presented as were the sexualised bodies of those searching for marriage. Although accepted by many, some idealised notions of the body and romantic relations among/between members were either resisted or contested.

The empirical evidence that I present in the ensuing sections adds nuance to the scholarship on transnational Pentecostal assemblages. Instead of presenting sociality largely through community (van Wyk, 2014) and global networks (Coleman, 2000), I

present the affective ties that generate affective solidarity but with potential to culminate in disruption and disintegration.

6.2 Managing affect: romantic love in a transnational Pentecostal setting

The scholarship on transnational affect(s) posits that 'affect and emotion in transnational social fields augments and mediates the viability of long-distance relationships across national borders' (Wise & Velayutham, 2017). My project agrees with this perspective but proceeds to reinstate materiality which is avoided by Amanda Wise and Selvaraj Velayutham. To reinstate materiality, I explore affective ties through romantic love as it was idealised, performed, celebrated, and formalised at SIT. This means that in this chapter, I explore romantic love in courtship, idealised discourses, in marriage and in weddings. The entanglement of affect and materials has been well explored in African urban contexts, specifically Johannesburg, through 'affective regeneration' (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2020). However, little has been done to reveal *intensity* of affectivity across transnational religious ties within African contexts. Even less has been done to demonstrate how romantic love engenders *affective solidarity* within religious communities.

Love was stimulated/promoted through affective labour of church leaders (Wade & Hynes, 2013) as well as personal efforts of members; it then manifest as 'immaterial labour which connects bodies' (Leurs, 2019). Romantic love brought people into intimate ties which exceeded community; it enabled affective solidarities in the church through drawing lovers together and other select members into close-knit groups which shared intimate moments and events such as marriages and weddings.

Lauren Berlant cited in Mupotsa (2015) indicates that:

> …love is the embracing dream in which desire is reciprocated: rather than being isolating, love provides an image of an expanded self, the normative version of which is the two-as-one intimacy of the couple form. In the idealized image of their relation, desire will lead to love, which will make a world for desire's endurance (p.187).

Love was a 'dream' and an aspiration; for church members at SIT, love was a felt yearning whose attainment was indicative of progress towards social completeness. It was relational as it anticipated reciprocity. From my interactions and

observations, the pastorate, the laity, and couples all expressed a yearning to be loved in some way. Interestingly, expressions and interpretations of love were contested, revealing different positions on how love was managed among members.

Before detailing the experiences of some of my interlocutors, I wish to make some broad statements about love among members of SIT within transnational settings. Romantic relationships were not always sustained especially when they formed before migration. Rather, according to some members, many male migrants from church had come to South Africa to raise funds for their marriages. Such men would have left their female partners in Zimbabwe with the promise of return and marriage. However, after settling in South Africa and finding new partners, the men neglected their ladies in Zimbabwe. In fact, Daniel who was one of my participants stated that of the many men who had migrated under such an arrangement, only one had fulfilled his promise to his lady partner. In addition, love which requires stability of a relationship did not always have such stability guaranteed as migrants were often on the move. This was particularly evident from the narratives of migration to South Africa.

Among my study participants were some who had engaged in what Groes & Fernandez (2018) identify as intimate mobilities. These interlocutors migrated to South Africa to follow their partners at the time. There was Thomas (male, 41, Johannesburg) whose girlfriend felt that he must be physically closer to her for their relationship to work. Thubelihle (female, 35, Pretoria) and Thandekile (female, 44, Johannesburg) both followed their husbands while Bubbles (female, 44, Johannesburg) came with the hopes of staying with her daughter's father. Although driven by optimism, the relationships had all faltered and collapsed. In these cases, love seemed to bear the hallmarks of cruel optimism (Berlant, 2010) in the sense that it was desirable but also formed the basis of pain. Lastly, there were some participants who attempted to form and establish romantic relationships in South Africa with mixed outcomes. This latter group receives the bulk of the chapter's attention.

I traced the pursuit of love in courtship and the church's moderation of love in anticipation of marriages and in hosting of weddings. In my discussion of love relations, I focused on heterosexual relationships which were the only accepted form

of amorous or romantic relationship. In addition, although I was aware of a youth department which hosted meetings covering subjects such as love and relationships among teenagers and young adults, I did not afford the department attention due to the age of members and motivations for their relationships. As one moderator in the young people's WhatsApp group indicated, 'the goal of dating for a Christian is marriage'. Considering that most teenagers were unlikely to be in positions to marry, their interactions were therefore slightly removed from normative readings of relationships in the church and therefore of little interest to the study.

6.3 Courtship, Marriage, and Weddings in the church

In this section, I attend to forms of socialisation within the church using key stages of romantic relationships, courtship, marriage, and weddings, as windows. Collectively, love, marriage, and weddings were central themes in the lives of SIT members particularly young adults. Love in particular percolates through marriages and weddings. Although Sekai — a key informant and leader of some women's groups — repeated that "marriage is not the end" (interview on 08.03.2021), the encouragement for people to marry was often repeated at gatherings. Reiterations afforded marriage a social value that leaders extolled and which some young people aspired for. In addition to having a formal marriage, expectations on couples were that at some point, they would host a 'white wedding', that is, a wedding event which follows western ideals. In this sense, the church expectations mirrored much of the established literature on dating and marriage in Pentecostal communities (Frahm-Arp, 2012; Mate, 2002; Soothill, 2010).

6.3.1 'Stand up so that the brothers can see you': affective labour of Courtship at SIT

The church publicly encouraged couples to start off by notifying pastors either when one (often a male suitor) had an interest in another member (often female) or where there already was a 'serious relationship' which promised to culminate in marriage. A designated pastor would then guide the couple through teachings with the desired goal being the securing of a marriage. My observations and informal conversations with some members revealed that courtship was largely a private matter which was

either arranged by a third party (as happened with Dlodlo[52] below) or was initiated by a male suitor (as was attempted by Pastor Eric whom we will shortly encounter).

Single women were not portrayed as active suitors even though in church, they were often at the forefront of showing their desire for marriage. Expressions of such desire were manifest when church leadership requested bachelors and spinsters to come and stand-up front so that their availability for courtship was known. In most cases, spinsters responded in large numbers while bachelors were often very few. I reflect on the ousted Reverend's overtures where he often jokingly invited bachelors by saying he was calling "on all ancestors" to present themselves. The ancestor label was meant to signify that the bachelors were old or at least past the expected age of marriage. As if in jest, spinsters were then invited to "stand up so that the brothers can see you" and then presented as beautiful, God-fearing women fit and ready for marriage (See Fig 6 below).

Figure 6: Edited images showing bachelors (left) and spinsters (right) presented to the church.



Often, such performances were done before a sermon, even though actual teachings also contained messages which encouraged unmarried members to stand and be seen. In this manner, single members of the church knew who was available and could then associate specific bodies with love and openness for relationships. I understood the performance – or more crudely, the exhibition of bodies — as an approach through which to transmit affect (Brennan, 2004) by creating platforms for

[52] Dlodlo was a young man in his early thirties. He got married and wedded during the COVID pandemic. Importantly, from his narration of how he met his bride, a mutual friend connected them using remitting of goods from Zimbabwe as a ruse.

transfer of ideas, seductions, desires and attractions in a manner evocative of 'affective circuits' (Cole & Groes, 2016). It was akin to declaring that here were bodies open to love and interested parties could connect to these desirable, 'God-fearing' bodies. Ironically, the same performance that demonstrated availability could also be understood to be a way of highlighting disapproval and undesirability. In other words, requesting people to come up front to be seen set apart single members who had gone beyond the age range considered appropriate or who were now divorced/separated. It also seemed to suggest that the people had proven to be undesirable and now the church was intervening. The same process could also be interpreted as one which warned younger members to avoid getting to an age when their availability would become the subject of church sessions and public display. Perhaps unsurprisingly, younger members often did not respond to the calls.

6.3.2 Seeking and negotiating love away from the pastoral gaze

Among some of the single people eligible for marriage were Ncamsile (29) — my research assistant — as well as Eric (37), a shy but popular male member with whom I was acquainted. Both attended the Newtown church branch in Johannesburg. In December 2020 after a combined church service, Eric beckoned me to have a chat with him. He had previously intimated that he had something to enquire from me but until then, had not asked anything. Seeing as I was chatting to another church member Jeremiah at the time, I figured that whatever it was that Eric wanted to ask must have been confidential. When I approached him, he started off with talk about how busy he had been of late and that he was involved in construction work at Reverend's house. After a short while, he then indicated that he had noticed my interactions with "someone" and meant to ask me about her. He wanted to know if I was close to the lady and if I was her relative. The conversation continued without Eric mentioning Ncamsile's name. After informing him there was no relationship between us apart from her assistantship in a project that I was working on, Eric then quipped, "*wena angikwesabeli*/I don't fear for (doubt) you". A few moments later, two ladies asked to speak to Eric, and he responded by indicating that he was busy before suggesting that we move to an even more isolated part of the church auditorium. By this time, I was curious to know whether Eric had approached Ncamsile and if so, with what results. He then stated that he had spoken to a friend's wife who was close to Ncamsile. From the enquiry, he had been informed about

what he wanted, namely, Ncamsile's availability for courtship due to her single marital status. It was only after mentioning his interaction with an informant that Eric expressly indicated that he was "interested" in Ncamsile and even then, he said it with a chuckle.

Ironically, Eric's approach subverted the recommended mode of courting a lady in church. The irony lay in the fact that Eric was a pastor. Having spotted an ideal suitable partner for himself, Eric had taken it upon himself to investigate her and then decide on whether to approach her or not. The approach contrasted with the church's recommendation for an interested suitor to inform any of the senior pastors when a potential interest had been identified. Thereafter, the suitor and the suited would have formal introductions made and if accepted, a formal relationship would be registered and nurtured. In all the interactions that I had, I was not aware of a single couple which had undergone such a process. I did not ask either Eric or Ncamsile about the fruition of a relationship, but in observing the two for some months after my chat with Eric, I did not see any signs of intimate relations or even cordial ones. Eric himself never mentioned Ncamsile again to me. In May 2022, I asked Ncamsile if she had been approached for courtship by someone I knew. I did not disclose Eric's identity, but Ncamsile confirmed that no man from the Newtown branch had approached her.

Eric and Ncamsile's scenario revealed one potentiality in the pursuit for love – guarded desire which did not result in a relationship at all. It did not capture the full range of scenarios in the church. Other members of a marrying age faced restrictions due to their circumstances and preference. Let us turn to one such scenario.

An interaction with Bubbles, an active participant in the church music team and participant in interviews, revealed subtle forms of expressivity which were relied upon by young women in church. She recounted an interaction she had with one young lady which went as follows:

> She said, *guys are not even looking at me*. They don't approach me, and I've given up on guys in church. Now I end up maybe getting any guy from outside the church because there is no one that wants me in church. So, I said to the lady, I will tell you that if you want the truth. *Wena* you are always serious.

> Before I spoke to you, before I knew you, it took time for me and you to get used to each [other]. Why? Because you were so serious. And I didn't know how you would respond if ever we had a conversation *nawe* (with you). You're too serious. Please try to loosen up; people are scared to approach you. How can a man come to you?

The interaction reveals the concerns of a young woman who wanted to attract male church members, but her hopes had not yet materialised. It also reveals the advisory role played by Bubbles who was older and presumably more informed/experienced. Bodily comportment and projection play a crucial role in the possibility of finding a suitor and this is an aspect that Bubbles identified as needing correction. To find a suitor, one needed to be desirable and approachable to the church's cohort of male members; to be loved, one had to be lovable. The gaze that Bubbles' acquaintance yearned for as she bemoaned that 'guys are not even looking at me', signified her longing for desirability. That was the starting point – to be an object of desire. The body had to be open to such possibilities for it to encounter love. Young women could therefore try to find ways of becoming more accessible and assertive in the courtship process even as they were not proactive. However, there were practical complications that made this difficult. First, the presentation of the body alone was inadequate. Secondly, even where a lady was open to love, she was not always aware of her suitors as was the case with Ncamsile; the suitors could in turn be circumspect due to their reluctance to adhere to some church procedures around courtship.

Practical difficulties can best be understood by reflecting on Thubelihle's experience. Thubelihle was a 35-year-old unmarried member of the Pretoria main branch. In reflecting on what she and her friends often chatted about, she noted that,

> Like mostly money, business and obviously men – marriage and all that stuff because most of my friends they are not married; I would say all of them actually. They are not married, and we are all above thirty and we are not married so obviously the things that we discuss are things like, uhm, 'how difficult how does church affect like your decision to be married or not to be married, who to date and all that stuff'.

As a 35-year-old lady with peer friends who were also not married, managing one's body was — in contrast to Bubbles above — not the only determinant of securing love

and getting into marriage. Rather, church expectations and personal choice were relevant and possibly conflicting determining factors. At her age, the church expected people like Thubelihle to already be married. Indeed, she had previously been married before. But, she and her friends were not in a rush to marry again, wondering instead on how best to be in romantic relationships which were permissible in church but not entered into for the purposes of getting married. Considering the pressure from within the church, Thubelihle and her friends were engaged in a fine balancing act. They may have supported each other on finding ways to navigate the love minefield but, the church posed a sizeable challenge. As Sekai admitted in a separate interview, there was pressure applied on young women to marry. She opined,

> It is quite stressful [for a woman who is unmarried] it is emotional because of the church and social pressures. Maybe we pastors are also to blame for the stress (telephonic interview, 08 March 2021).

Although Sekai kept emphasising that teachings to women reiterated that 'marriage is not the end' or final accomplishment in life, she also acknowledged that '90% of what we do' in the Women's Ministry focused on marriage and related aspects of life. There was therefore a high expectation for ladies to marry even as support was extended to those that were unmarried. Among other voices that urged women to marry and form healthy relationships was a podcast platform hosted by a Zimbabwe-based female senior pastor. The podcast was promoted in a few sessions in Johannesburg's Newtown branch. Some of the podcast topics included "I am single and am waiting for Mr Right", "true love waits" and "mistakes made in singlehood". In all these platforms, getting married was a function of individual potential and presentation, time, divine provision, and personal grooming. The result was a complex scenario for people like Thubelihle who, while stating that she was single (and therefore presumably available for a relationship), was actually divorced after having been involved in a toxic relationship. Thubelihle was of an age that was still considered marriageable in church; she however was aware of her circumstances which complicated one's "decision to be married or not to be married, who to date and all that stuff". The point here is that securing love could not be solved by merely being open or following church encouragement to go up front and be seen. Rather,

romantic engagement was also a matter of being pragmatic within the church context. Even if one opened up and showcased themselves, would a searching bachelor approach her as a divorcee? How about if she opted for a relationship which did not culminate in marriage, what would be the moral implications?

Affect theory allows us to construe the body as unbounded and open to multiple possibilities of being affected. Pentecostal moralism with regards to sex and sexuality binds the body into normative performances and states of being. Yet, as Burchardt (2011) reveals among youths in an urban South African context, abstinence is exceptional. At SIT, my interlocutors refrained from speaking about personal sexual lives. However, from addresses made by senior leaders such as Rev and Skara, there was recognition and disapproval of relationships with non-believers, sexual promiscuity and cohabitation prior to marriage or *kuchaya mapoto* (Muzvidziwa, 2002). Church teachings tended to slant towards the unboundedness of male sexuality while binding female sexuality through assigning purity to it. My recognition of such relations was sparked by interactions with interlocutors from Pretoria who struggled when asked about their marital status. The first was Shuvai (female, 48) who stammered that she was "in a relationship" and Thubelihle (female, 35) who although single and divorced, had an infant child, and admittedly was not very engaged with the church at the time because of "personal reasons". I could not establish whether the relationships held by such interlocutors were casual or due to be formalised. What I did establish through a snap survey conducted by the Newtown church branch's leadership during a couples meeting was that some couples had not formally married. This was later corroborated by an online survey which was circulated via WhatsApp (see Appendix 2). Not every relationship was therefore cast within the formal, normative notion of love depicted by the church. Rather, members were open to many possibilities including those that did not end in marriage.

Where couples were established and arranging for marriage, they were encouraged to undergo "marital counselling" which was facilitated by senior pastors. Marital counselling enabled the pastors to assess the preparedness of couples for marriage as well as their standing in the religious community. Such practices were mechanisms for teaching the couple about a model marriage which was rooted in

religious teachings. Importantly, marriage counselling also enabled a pastor to ascertain how involved a couple was in the church. It marked a period between courtship and marriage. Courtship would have entailed personal or assisted initiative; it would have been a managed phase as well as an institutionally guided process which built up on the possibility of love. For Eric, possibility was aroused by Ncamsile's personal qualities. In the church's teachings, possibility hinged on personal, economic, and church-specific qualities which a section below discusses through 'being known'.

In highlighting that courtship was promoted, I must hasten to add that there were circumstances where romantic attraction was discouraged. I make a few observations on this front in the following section.

6.3.3 Restricted desires

While courtship and love were encouraged, some forms of desire were discouraged since they were deemed sinful and morally wrong. In other words, they were believed to pose a threat of morally undesirable ties and solidarities among members. Lynch & Kalaitzake (2020) remind us that solidarity can have either positive or negative roots and implications. In the case of restricted desires, solidarity in the church was shown by disapproval. To illustrate, I turn to Opera's story which she shared during a meeting hosted by the music team. Opera was a lively lady who served as a pastor and co-leader of the music team. Presumably in her early thirties, she was one of the most welcoming people in church and even more so in the music team. In March 2021, she invited me to participate in a weekend meeting whose main agenda was reorienting members to the purpose of the music team. The meeting was held in the church auditorium on a Saturday afternoon. After highlighting the purpose of singing and how it was meant to move congregants into a collective state of "getting in the presence of God", she turned to issues which could potentially disrupt such an objective (issues included cleanliness, make-up, dressing, appearance).

Opera, who was wearing casual jeans and a sleeveless top, recalled an encounter which had struck her as a moment for personal reflection. In this encounter, she said that she had drawn unwanted attention from a male senior member of the church. She had worn attire which revealed her legs up to her thighs. She remembered that

soon after church, a male member had approached her and said, “you ministered well, and you also have beautiful legs”. The words made her realise that she had “offended the man of God." The encounter with this unnamed church member had concerned her because her appearance had produced a response which was contrary to what a choir member should produce. In other words, her body was not meant to produce attractions of a romantic or sexual nature especially to other congregants who should have been praising and worshipping God. Such affectivity disturbed the spiritual order because praise and worship was meant ‘to bring people closer to God’. Adding to her narration, she then cautioned other women in attendance who may have had a habit of dressing skimpily, saying,

> number one, before we hear what you have to say, the wives to those brothers who sit in front here, they are concerned already [*laughter*] (Field Observation notes, 23.03.2021).

In making such a remark, it appears that concerns about dress and sexualisation of bodies were not Opera’s alone but applied to other members as well. Importantly, the talk suggested that there needed to be some regulation of female bodies lest the desires of male members be aroused. Deportment and appearance of bodies was important especially for ladies as they feared that their attire could trigger ungodly desire. Struck by how the talk had unfolded, I approached Opera during a break at the meeting and asked her if dress sensitivity did not apply to men as well. She then raised the issue upon the meeting’s resumption and unsurprisingly, when clothing such as tight-fitting jeans was mentioned, some men openly protested. An exchange between Opera and some members went as follows:

> **Opera:** Do not come here with your extra extra skinny jeans or…ah ah it won’t work guys. And then *wena* you (gestures around her waist/groin). What do you think about guys that wear tight clothes?
>
> **Audience:** [laughter and some men in protest] *Hayi hayi*[no no]. There is no problem.
>
> **Opera:** We don’t want to be imagining snake park here looking at your your your clothes, looking at your chest out. Haa guys. I think it’s not fair to other children.

The men contested regulation of what they wore and how they appeared in spite of suggestions that some attire could distract women from focusing on the music sessions in church. Many men appeared adamant that the sexual legibility of women's bodies was more affective than that of men. Women's bodies and dressing had to be regulated more than men. I am not suggesting here that this was an official position although virtually all narratives tended to frame female bodies as purer and in need of more preservation compared to men. Gendered bodies were presented as differentially affective especially as objects of desire. Sekai's perspective buttresses this conception as she had the following words to say,

> My husband always says if there is anything that the anointing doesn't deal with its those things, those sexual issues. The bible just says "run!".

The words which were spoken at the same music team event highlight how some "sexual issues" were discouraged particularly in instances when the object of desire was deemed morally wrong.

6.3.4 Regulating love in the church

As already hinted above, love among couples was deliberately encouraged by church leaders and couples were guided towards marriage. Designated church groups such as Couples Ministry and Women's Ministry provided guidance in the process. The Couples Ministry was described in one edition of the church's magazine, The Speaker Magazine 2018, as follows:

> The ministry equips couples in different set ups to love and serve the Lord together and the ministry continues to guide and encourage couples to share their experience in their journey. The ministry also encourages those who stay together to formalise their marriage to benefit on the blessing of the lord. The ministry is made up of diverse couples from different cultural background, age groups, newly wedded and seasoned couples, the diversity helps in teaching others how to maintain healthy relationships with their spouse as well as learning from others who have walked the road (p.56).

Couples deemed ready for marriage could approach church pastors for private counselling. Such counselling was in addition to teachings on marriage and

relationships which were held in specific fellowship groups for men, women, and couples.

Men considered to be of marrying age were encouraged to join Men's Fellowship while their female counterparts were encouraged to join Women's Ministry (WM)[53]. Social and religious gatherings held within these groups were almost always exclusive to members although in WM, 'a man may be invited from time to time to give a male perspective on why they do things in the way that they do' (Interview with Sekai, 08 March 2021).

When a couple was established and ready for marriage, they could access mentorship from some members of the Couples ministry. Instruction was shared in some meetings where messages derived from texts such as Ephesians 5:22[54] were buttressed. The exception concerned issues relating to sex; such issues were seldom discussed in the presence of those anticipating marriage although they were extensively attended to in groups such as Men's Fellowship. Instead of discussing sex, emphasis was placed on obedience of a wife and instructions that husbands must love their wives at all costs. In this sense, the centrality of love was reinforced and the marriage ideal buttressed.

6.3.5 Being known and the possibilities of marriage

According to Rev, SIT's membership in Newtown was 99% Zimbabwean. Most of the married couples were Zimbabwean. I was aware of two South African couples during my fieldwork at the Newtown church. Because the church encouraged formalisation of marriages, couples would often travel to Zimbabwe to register their marriage at the courts in order to get a marriage certificate. One key informant, Conrad, went on to add that during the COVID-19 restrictions on movement, some couples had failed to go to Zimbabwe to formalise their marriages. Such a scenario created challenges for those couples which had not registered[55] for marriage prior to March 2020. Although some were ready for marriage, they could not have a marriage

[53] Although the focus is on how these groups functioned in fostering affective solidarity through love, they brought together church members in various other ways. For example, functions and events were often held to reconnect, refresh and commune together. Members of each group would contribute money and go on excursions where community and attachment to the church/group were enhanced.

[54] Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord (King James Version)

[55] Procedure on marriage as laid out in the court/law

ceremony that met expected standards such as formalisation and a subsequent wedding. Without a formal marriage certificate, these couples strove to get blessings from pastors, nonetheless. My interactions with Conrad revealed that while such an approach was not encouraged, the pandemic created a situation where a pastor had to use their discretion. For instance, a pastor's decision to endorse a marriage without a certificate would be primarily hinged on whether "the couple was known" and "of good standing". If Conrad knew the couple, he would then consider what they each did in church in terms of active participation in departments. After this, he would then allow them to marry "on condition that when things normalised, they would formalise the thing." Conversely, where a couple or one partner in the couple was unknown, granting consent would be problematic especially where the unknown partner was male. In fact, Conrad emphasised that he had refused to oversee a wedding to one such couple (Interview notes, 02 February 2021).

What did it mean to "know" a couple? As earlier stated, couples were encouraged to register their proposed marriages and enrol for marriage counselling sessions. Although not subjected to the Foucauldian panopticon, the sessions enabled a thorough examination of the couple's standing in the church, their financial standing as well as preparedness for life in marriage. In this sense, aspects of their lives which would previously have been hidden from the pastoral gaze became exposed. Being known as I understood it, mirrored Quiroz's (2016) findings in the sense that a couple would have subjected itself to scrutiny by the pastors where one attended church. Although such practices were not widespread, they were idealised and couples which played according to this script received greater adulation and respect compared to those which did not.

On the arrangement of marriage according to the Women's Ministry, Sekai indicated that "we marry off a woman" (08.03.2021). I raise this here because it has implications on how the pastor "knows" a couple and subsequently opts to either endorse or reject a marriage. In "marrying off a woman", the implication is that the woman leaves her family and quite possibly, her church, to join her husband's. If this is extended to the situation which prevailed during lockdown, an 'unknown' partner can be a man not known to the senior pastor. Such unknowingness

presumably makes the suitor questionable and might result in a proposed marriage facing resistance/rejection. I do not suggest that if a pastor rejected endorsing a marriage, then the couple were faced with hopelessness or doom. In fact, according to Conrad, rejection by a pastor simply meant that he would not avail himself to officiation duties although the couple were free to approach an alternative marriage officer and proceed with their plans. Through "knowing" a couple, the legitimacy of bodies was observed, scrutinised, and tested by the pastorate while the couple could also make claims to being knowable. Put differently, pastors could exercise their authority (van Dijk, 2002) while the laity could make claims to sincerity. In this sense, an exchange transpired in which, for better or for worse, the couple were free to find another pastor ostensibly from a different church or entity, to endorse their marriage.

If all was above board, then negotiations for bride price could be held, a process that would most certainly ensure vibrant social and cultural transnational ties (Levitt & Schiller, 2004; Vertovec, 1999). Whereas van Dijk (2002) notes that in his study Pentecostal leaders exerted their authority even on matters such as bride price, within SIT, the bride price negotiations were principally negotiated by the respective families. Exceptions to such inter-family negotiations applied only upon invitation. One factor limiting the influence of some pastors was their limited influence and weak affective ties either in Zimbabwe or in South Africa. These challenges were exacerbated by the tepid loyalty which some members had to the church in Zimbabwe. In short, although members in Johannesburg and Pretoria accepted that the founder and headquarters of the church were in Gweru, Zimbabwe, their affective connection with the founder and headquarters was mixed. Members who joined from Zimbabwe and then relocated appeared to be more attached compared to those who had joined in South Africa. With respect to marriage, this meant that even if exerting influence was attempted, assigning a Zimbabwe-based pastor to play a role over a South Africa-based couple's marriage negotiations would magnify the weak connections between the parties. A South Africa-based pastor would have to attend to proceedings in Zimbabwe, a situation which helped to address affective ties but then raised logistical and moral challenges. Such relations formed the basis of differential shows of affective solidarity in the church. With loose ties depending

on relations with pastors, weddings then magnified the differential solidarities among members.

6.3.6 Weddings

Courtship and marriage were often private processes held by couples and their immediate families or advisors. Conversely, weddings tended to be overt celebrations which were open to select members of the public. In South Africa, Danai Mupotsa (2015) asserts that weddings reveal social belonging. They demand substantial economic resources and are therefore indicative of consumption in economies hamstrung by poverty and inequality. Moreover, as Pauli & Dawids (2017) argue in the Namibian context, weddings are not the preserve of the economically well-off alone but 'struggle marriages' are equally common. Furthermore, weddings draw together members across international lines making them variably transnational celebrations. For a start, negotiations for marriage (*lobola*/*roora*) and arrangements for the weddings are often matters which are attended to by kin (White, 2016) and a middleman (Chiweshe, 2016). In drawing such a diverse group of participants across a spatially dispersed network, weddings are also useful windows into social solidarities. In van Dijk's (2004) study on Ghanaian Pentecostals based in the Netherlands, the church officiates and facilitates marriages involving members despite the legal invalidity of such marriages.

Marriage negotiations and organisation of weddings were processes which the church leadership participated in after invitation from the partners and their kin. This meant that participation of members was restricted to those who were expressly invited. In discussing weddings and forms of belonging at SIT, I suggest that weddings reveal entrenched affective social ties between members within the church. Although largely a celebration of romantic love, weddings also shed light on love among the brethren. I will attend to two prominent events which played out during the research project. The first relates to a wedding held in honour of the son to Mark and Mirriam Moyo. The second relates to the weddings of two members whose wedding days coincided.

6.3.6.1 "The eighth wonder"

In September 2019, Manqoba Moyo, son to Bishop Mark and Mirriam, had a wedding which was not only impressive in the host city but was a major event for the church.

The event was given wide coverage in the annual magazine where colour images were presented on glossy paper across many pages. An interview transcript was also available showing the expressions of joy, excitement, relief, and fears of the newly wedded couple. The groom spoke about fears concerning lobola as well as concerns over temptation to engage in pre-marital sex. Whatever concerns there were at the time of the interview, on the wedding day, they were replaced by joyful scenes amidst opulence and staging of love (cf. Mupotsa, 2015). In one image the newly wedded couple sat in a vintage convertible automobile while ahead of them were members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police escorting them on horseback through the city streets. In another, an immaculately dressed bridal party was shown in jubilation in a wide, brightly lit room. Roses and wide sofas adorned a section of the sitting area whose regal colours were lilac, purple and white. The scenes depicted a royal wedding and reflected consumption of an elite class. Yet, prior to these scenes and far removed from the jubilation and joys in Zimbabwe, members of the church had been encouraged to make contributions towards the wedding – a wedding that they would not attend.

At the time of joining SIT as a prospective researcher looking for ethics clearance, announcements of the pending wedding were now *de rigueur* in the church programme. For example, on 23 June, church members were invited to make contributions to the wedding in addition to the usual offerings which were requested every week. The contributions made towards the wedding were — with a bit of coaxing — voluntarily made. A wedding taking place approximately nine hundred and thirty six kilometres away across an international border was drawing the resources and possibly 'transnational circuits of affect' (Andrikopoulos, 2021; Johnston & Pratt, 2014) in a spatially diverse community. Despite many people knowing that they would not be participating in the events in September, their interest had been piqued and some enthusiastically contributed. Framings of the wedding as "our wedding" while emphasising that the groom and bride were also 'children' of the church reinforced the reach made towards tapping into affective ties through creating a narrow distance and unified atmosphere. Affective atmospheres are airs or moods which circulate between bodies (Anderson, 2009; Brennan, 2004; Riedel, 2019) in given settings. They give character to events. However, over some weeks I realised that although presented as "our wedding", there were no invitations

extended to church members including many of the church leaders. The impression given was that the wedding would be corporate or “ours” in terms of pooling resources but private or “theirs” in its hosting. Although there was no resentment noted in my observations and interactions during fieldwork, the inclusion and exclusion of members from prominent events was replicated even among themselves as will be discussed through Bubbles’ experience in ‘6.3.6.3' below.

Not all weddings were as high profile as the bishop’s son. Instead, the bulk of weddings which were announced in the Johannesburg and Pretoria churches tended to be of regular members whose influence and prominence was much less. These weddings also drew participation both in Zimbabwe and South Africa while enticing affective connections to both participants and non-participants alike.

6.3.6.2 Weddings in Bulawayo

Besides the Bishop’s son and his spouse, there were weddings of South Africa-based members which were held in Zimbabwe. Two such weddings involved the Nceku and Dhlamini couples. In the same fashion as other weddings, announcements were made during church services and then invitations were sent privately. In both weddings, the bachelors and spinsters were members of the church. Both bachelors attended church in Newtown. By contrast, one spinster was a member in a different branch within Johannesburg while another was a member of a branch in Bulawayo. In both cases, banns of marriage were called out in church and details of where the weddings would be held were openly shared. However, as noted earlier, invitations were specified and those who were not invited were advised to not attend. Two of my key informants attended the Zimbabwe weddings: Rev attended the Ncekus in Bulawayo while Daniel attended the Dhlaminis in Gwanda. Back in Johannesburg, besides the excitement which drew ululations when announcements were made in church, there was hardly anything to show that there was due to be a wedding of any member. Neither did there appear to be much change after the weddings besides the moderate jubilation in church when the couples were introduced upon their return. Although the lukewarm reception may appear indicative of indifference or even absence of affect and emotion, Knoblauch et al. (2019) reveal through ‘affective dramaturgy’ that affects typify both highly expressive and benign

activities. I agree with this sentiment in the context of muted responses to weddings. To be lukewarm can be just as responsive as ululating.

In the following section I develop this aspect further by considering how the selective extensions of invitations to weddings moderated affective ties among the membership. I suggest that the distribution of invitations to weddings highlighted affective ties between the parties getting married and the members invited. Among members, there may have been a logistical and resource justification for the limiting invitations. However, in the two weddings identified above, not only were many church members excluded but those who were invited proved to be a small grouping which routinely attended similar functions. Much like the assertion that one was only visible when they were part of a department in the church (see section on Philia below), invitations to weddings appeared to be conditioned by the group membership and social affects thereof.

6.3.6.3 Wedding invitations as expressions of affect

In the lead up to the weddings, announcements repeated what turned out to be a common notice, a notice which towards the end of my fieldwork, I would pursue with some participants. In announcing dates and venues of weddings, the audience was also notified that attendance was to be "strictly by invitation" and therefore those who were not invited were better off not attending the wedding event. Suspecting that invitations to weddings were not only restricted by logistical concerns, I pursued the matter with some of my close contacts, asking them to reflect on the weddings which they had attended since they joined the church in South Africa. Thomas, a forty-one-year-old junior pastor who had migrated to South Africa in 2008 was my first interlocutor. Responding to how many weddings he had attended in South Africa, his answer was:

> None. Weddings and funerals are pressure down here […] I haven't attended weddings locally. Ok. How do I put this? Within the church, I have not attended any weddings. I was invited to uhm, two weddings; those were held in Zim so those could be two different things. And I couldn't travel to Zim because of various reasons either work couldn't get off work or something along those lines, but they were church weddings, people that are getting married at Newtown from Newtown rather, and but were getting married in Zim, but the ones that have gotten married here, er, those I have not been invited to. But I would tend

> to think that this this is my [...] I know, I've noticed there's certain people within the church I don't think you've probably interviewed those that get [...] that are always present at every single wedding. This is not even pastors or yeah, these are not even your pastors but people generally in the, I think more on the feminine side they are present at almost every single wedding that that has happened at Newtown. I'm talking about, the most recent one was Dlodlo's. I know people that attended those, that one, the previous one was was whose [...] I'm thinking now I just can't remember [...] there was Mlu's wedding there's the people that attend every single wedding. So locally, they get invited to those. Let's hope that this answers your question somehow gives you a bit better clarity. (Informal conversation with Thomas, 11.02.2021)

Thomas had been a SIT member since 2005 when he joined the church in Bulawayo. He did indicate that most of his social contacts in church were people that he worked with in specific departments but did not necessarily interact with socially outside of church. His sentiments about weddings as social events which he had largely been excluded from are echoed by Bubbles. Bubbles was a forty-three-year-old lady who arrived in South Africa as a member of the Seventh Day Adventist church. Having arrived in 2004, she had joined SIT roughly three years later after a tumultuous settling period. Also surprisingly, despite her long membership, on the matter of attending weddings, she had the following to say:

> Weddings? Now, one of the biggest problems in church [laughing] [...] I was talking to other people in church the other day when I wasn't invited in the last wedding that happened before lockdown. So, and then we were discussing about this thing. So, I said to them are you guys worried? I haven't been invited since I started fellowshipping here. I have […] nobody has ever invited me in their wedding. Of which I don't mind if you don't want me [titters] it's fine. You don't want me at the wedding it's ok, you have got your own reasons. But what happened with me is somebody asked for my help, even financially towards her wedding. She used me a lot and then, she didn't invite me [chuckles] So […] but I don't get invited to any wedding; I haven't been invited by anyone. But I do help. I don't mind helping. You can approach me today, I help, I don't have a problem and I don't even get cross or anything. We're still talking today we call each other. I didn't even ask the person. How can she use me so much and afterwards you don't even invite me to your wedding? I didn't even ask. I just congratulated the person after that. Like Oh, well. Welcome to the world of

> marriages. So, it happens. You see how our church is like? (Interview with Bubbles, 11.02.2021).

In the experiences of the two long-serving members mentioned above, invitations, and attendance of weddings in South Africa are almost non-existent. Another member, Ncamisile, who had spent relatively less time in Johannesburg had also not been invited. Important to note is that all these people were active members in the church and quite prominent figures as well. For example, Thomas was a prominent member of the communications department, Bubbles was a very active member of the church choir and Ncamisile was a lead singer in one of the church services. While Thomas had been invited to weddings in Bulawayo, the other two had not been invited to any at all. It appears being present and prominent were insufficient conditions for recognition and invitation to take part in a wedding. Such exclusion or omission prevailed in a time when other people attended virtually every wedding as Thomas had narrated. I suggest that the reason for such variable outcomes was that affective relations held sway for accessing and participating in such social events and functions. Where affective solidarity was weak, invitation and participation were scarce.

The affective relations which I have in mind are built on real and imagined social solidarities and more importantly for the church, love among brethren. I do not suggest that being omitted in these events meant that there was no love among brethren but rather, the love was not uniformly managed. As a later section will reveal, affective ties relied on membership in groups/departments and these groups become micro-sites for networking. Within the groups, social intimacy varied. Those occupying peripheral positions felt excluded and unloved as Bubbles suggested. Invitations to weddings were therefore partly inspired by affective relations (Slaby & Röttger-Rössler, 2018) where access was to people in specific social groups and not the church as a whole. As social functions, weddings revealed an aspect of the Pentecostal family's bondedness in emotional and affective terms. In Bubbles' case, the apparent distance surprised her because she had expected an invitation after loaning a churchmate some money for her wedding. She had presumably assumed that being asked for and managing to loan out money was a demonstration of some

form of unity or solidarity. Yet, it might have been a functional unity which had little emotional and affective value – a show of weak affective solidarity.

6.4 Couples Ministry

In this penultimate section, I address affective ties in marriage through the lens of a church department whose sole focus was on married couples. The Couples Ministry (CM) was a dedicated department in church which attended to the material, spiritual and emotional needs of couples. Guidance, counselling, support, and partnership were extended to all married couples in church. A key player in dispensing emotional and counselling support was the counselling department. Its activities were summarised in the seventh edition of the global magazine as follows:

- Providing biblically based counselling to new converts as they receive Christ.
- Following up on new converts.
- Disciplining new converts using biblical principles.
- Bring new converts to a place of spiritual maturity where they become disciples themselves (SIT Global, 2017/8, p.89).

The Couples Ministry together with the counselling department worked on many couples facing challenges. To conduct their work, the counselling teams were guided by core values which were listed in the church magazine as "love, empathy, confidentiality, integrity, ability to listen, accountability loyalty". The activities detailed in the magazine are not exhaustive. My observations of some sessions and notes from interviews identified guidance and advice among other ancillary services offered to established church members. In the Johannesburg branch, Pastor Dube indicated that the counselling department attended to three key issues.

> I think for myself having been involved, the main thing, ah not the main thing, I think I can list about two or three at the moment. One is the issue of depression, many people are generally depressed. And that's what they mentioned that they're depressed or things are not working out fine or this and that. So, a number of factors that affect that then the second thing that I've realised that usually comes up out of consulting or general conversations that then necessitate you just to mention a word of counsel or comfort is the issue of financial difficulties. So many people are faced with financial difficulties, be it lack of salaries or employment or the general issue of life you are working, you are getting a salary

> in but it looks like it's not enough. So, you know someone, is trying to really employ all the Financial Intelligence issues you realise people somehow, I think there is this common word black tax I've realised that in our circumstances, it's usually a big factor as well, which affects many people. Then third one, I think it's that issue of marriages and family life. Yeah. People generally I don't know. It's life, marriage is a problem either those who are married for those who want to get married [laughs] (Interview 29.04.2020)

The issues which Pastor Dube identifies are not peculiar to new believers. Rather, they are common issues which then assume greater intensity for migrants who live sometimes precarious lives. Marital strain was one such matter which emanated from living in separate locations or which was tied to economic and financial strain as was evident from a conversation between Mhlonishwa and Pastor G. In their conversation, it emerged that a male church member had been told by his disgruntled wife that she wanted a divorce, but he was unyielding in his refusal to grant her wish. Although I was uncertain about the identity of the male figure concerned, I had observed from a previous interaction between Mom Rev and an active member of the church that he was balking under the pressure of marital strain. The Couples Ministry strove to keep family units intact while also encouraging members to interact with each other more often. However, there were evident cracks in the setup which militated against affective solidarity. As one church member noted during an after-service meeting for couples in February 2020,

> As couples we don’t even know each other. We have seen some groups where people contribute but when it comes to my turn, they don’t. My anniversary is in December. So I contribute from January then come December, everyone is in Zimbabwe.

The words expressed by a popular lady in the church expressed regret that some members in the church were treated more favourably than others. There was also a lack of concern to ensure that everyone benefitted from initiatives for couples. In her example, she reflected on contributions that women had made towards celebrating couples anniversaries. While others received contributions during the year and participated well, by the time that the year end came, they withdrew their participation and left for Zimbabwe, leaving couples with December anniversaries

in limbo. After her utterances, there was encouragement that couples get to know each other through visits and events. Although a few events were later held after the COVID lockdown, they were subscription based and therefore not entirely inclusive.

6.5 Conclusions

This chapter has built on Chapter 5's discussion by highlighting the church teachings and practices which generated stronger ties as well as inspired more fissures among members resulting in affective solidarity. The central idea around which affective solidarity was explored was romantic love. The chapter traced romantic love's genesis and development of romance leading to marriage.

Engaging the scholarship which attends to affect's velocity, management and circulation, this chapter has argued that besides movement and in addition to production, affect is moderated both in the organisation and between corporeal bodies. The chapter argued that love induced affective solidarity which was either deliberately attempted by the church or socially negotiated among members through their personal engagements. The church encouraged young members to enter into lasting relationships and marriages while it strongly monitored unknown persons. There were mechanisms for ensuring that persons seeking marriage were held accountable while they learnt how to create lasting bonds. This was the job of the Couples Ministry, some leaders as well as specific men and women's groups.

While affective solidarity in the church was co-produced through deliberate church efforts to bring people of marrying age into romantic relationships and then guide them towards marriage, these endeavours did not bear much fruit. Rather, some members attempted to establish relationships on their own as Eric did. His efforts also did not achieve the desired outcome.

Where relationships blossomed into marriage and in some cases weddings, the affective ties in the church were magnified. It is in these contexts that the celebration of love also demonstrated the affective solidarity in the church. For the elite such as the bishop's son, financial and material resources could be organised and mobilised across international boundaries. However, contributors would not be privy to attending the wedding in Zimbabwe. For non-elites in the church, attendance was strictly by invitation, revealing that within the church community,

relational ties were variably binding. Even where a person was supportive through availing resources, such as Bubbles, these material resources were inadequate to guarantee access to weddings. Perhaps a greater endowment of affective resources would have sufficed. The result was that members were loosely bound as an affective community. In the next chapter, we turn to how the church as an organisation and as a body of members, dealt with those who endured strenuous times, and those who were non-members.

Chapter 7: Care and cure of souls in the church

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I attended to the church and individual efforts which produced varying intensities of affective solidarity. I now turn to the interventions that emerged in cases where the church sought to intervene when members and some non-members encountered strenuous times. To do this, I attend to what have been termed negative affects (Shmurak, 2006); that is, affects which bring discomfort (Tomkins, 2008) and what Ngai (2004) refers to as 'ugly feelings'. I attend to fear, worry/concern, sorrow, and solace as they circulate around social events such as death and funerals. Reverting to one of the project questions: '*How do emotions and affects influence boundary-setting and cleavage-formation within local and transnational migrant networks?*', I show that through affective curatorship, hard boundaries/distinctions between church and non-church are avoided. Moreover, efforts are made to ensure that ties in and outside of the church are revived, cured, and reformulated.

Writing in the South African context, Comaroff (2012) has demonstrated the homologous affective ties between religion, politics, and development. Such was the case when the global health crisis set in after the spread of Covid-19. The pandemic disrupted church activities but also helped to magnify areas where the social relations were loosely bound in the church. Dealing with bereavement and life's setbacks lace the chapter's pages through the words of my interlocutors.

The chapter's attention to sad events, such as Mayisa's murder (discussed later in the chapter), spotlights an area that has been widely addressed in security studies in South Africa. Violence is portrayed as endemic in post-apartheid South Africa often with grim consequences. Many urbanites live with a 'sense of threat' (Eagle, 2015), and fear (Scorgie et al., 2017). Although fears of violent crime exist, I hasten to add that some violence does not always induce fear as it is also deployed as a form of political expression by disgruntled communities (Chance, 2015). The implication is that violence for some is a solution to social, economic, and political problems. With a largely poor black population, high inequality and very high unemployment, crime is intricately tied to economic status and outcomes (Bhorat

et al., 2017). Security concerns as well as a collapsing urban infrastructure have drawn some scholars to propose affective regenerations which reveal how religious practices and sentiments are entwined in processes of cleansing and mourning (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2020). I augment to this scholarship by highlighting the purging and curing of souls in the church. Such purging, curing, revitalisation and cleansing occur through working on relations between and among members.

In presenting this image of urban South Africa, I am aware that the state and communities have mechanisms for intervening in curbing violence (Govender, 2020; Paret, 2015). Nonetheless, overt acts of violent criminality coupled with low incarceration rates contribute towards real and perceived threats on citizens.

African migrant communities that often live among poor South Africans must also contend with fears of episodes of xenophobic violence (Hayem, 2013; Hickel, 2014) and the possibility of returning to their places of origin in hearses (Mbiba, 2010). In this chapter, we encounter a victim of such violence through a memorial service held for him. Generally for Pentecostals, the threats they face confront a central element of Pentecostal theology, practice, and hermeneutics – health and wealth or prosperity gospel (Yong, 2012) and dominion theology (Wilkinson & Althouse, 2017). If "God's people should claim their divine authority over their circumstances by confessing or declaring the Bible's promises" (Attanasi, 2012, p.5), then they should be able to extract protection, safety and provenance in a challenging world. Authority is not confined to physical health but spans into dimensions of security. Furthermore, gaining favour from God is not strictly for the afterlife. Prosperity gospel is rooted in a culture of immediacy where believers view "their future lives to be life- (abundance)-affirming rather than death-(poverty)-bringing" (Wariboko, 2012) in the now (cf. Baer, 2001; Biri, 2012; Bowler, 2016). However, among migrant Pentecostal communities, such expectations, which are evocative of Berlant (2010)'s 'cruel optimism' and hope (Adams et al., 2009), are often confronted by complex social realities.

I consider the circulation of negative affects in transnational Pentecostal settings and demonstrate how they were circulated and managed. My key argument is that the circulation and moderation of affects is a power-laden process that not only

highlights who benefits through a process of purging, curation and selection but equally reveals how much care members receive.

7.2 Engaging sombre/dysphoric affects among members

Researchers interested in affect in the Tomkinsan tradition, refer to negative affects which weigh down on a body. Such affects are manifest as sadness, fear, distress, and shame. Often, these affects have antonyms implying that they have direct mirroring positions. Reading affects in this dichotomous way implies that affects have valences, that is there are positive and negative affects. In my exploration of affective economies in the Pentecostal church, I was persistently confronted by how affects were not fixed. In other words, besides their stickiness (Ahmed, 2004), affects were also very slippery. As Adams et al. (2009) have argued, an event that one might have determined to be sad might very well elicit joy or comfort or inspiration. In my study, this production of affects stemmed from the way social processes were interpreted through spiritual lens guided by prosperity gospel and dominion theology (Baer, 2001; Biri, 2012; Bowler, 2016; Yong, 2012; Wariboko, 2012). Death was victory. Depravity was the ultimate test which a believer could embrace with the hope of imminent conquest. In this sense, affects were productive and certainly not fixed.

Besides their circulation, production and curating of affects elicited diverse outcomes partly because the circumstances demanding curatorship varied. Church gatherings, official events, and meetings as well as social media afforded the researcher ample terrain to observe and interrogate the expression of sombre affects. In these settings, I took an interest in 'ugly feelings' (Ngai, 2004), compassion (Garber, 2004) and 'cruel optimism' (Berlant, 2010) as constituents of what some have termed transnational affects (Kaur, 2018; Wise & Velayutham, 2008, 2017). I was interested in how these affects were circulated, by whom, to whom, with what implications on creating and breaching boundaries in the church and between the church and the secular.

I was also aware of the history of ugly feelings that had characterised the lives of some of my interlocutors since their arrival in South Africa. The realities of migrant life-imposed challenges which drew out pain, anxiety and even some worry. Consistent with Vishkin & Tamir (2020), some members of SIT confronted existential

concerns stemming from their precarious arrivals and stay as migrants. Acquisition of legal documentation was the foremost challenge. For example, Skara (a pastor in one of the services) recalled how members had resorted to "*khipha faka*[56]" documents in their early years of settlement. Also speaking of the time when Zimbabwe Special Dispensation Permits[57] were issued, Rev added that "we prayed for the ZSP permit" (Interview via WhatsApp, 02.04.2020). Bubbles added that she had even tried to get South African documentation through a friend from Kwa-Zulu Natal while Thubelihle recalled that she had travelled back to Zimbabwe to collect her passport just in time to apply for the permit through a school whose credentials were dubious. Acquiring legal documentation had for long featured highly among the core concerns and worries of members. In early 2020, the COVID pandemic was detected in South Africa, posing existential, economic, and social concerns for migrants and their connections in Zimbabwe. For a long period during my research, COVID was the prime cause for concern.

The pandemic that ensued bred challenges which in turn spurred the church's efforts to provide care, compassion, solace, and support to the sick, the bereaved and those under immense socio-economic strain. I understood extension of these forms of support as affective curatorship. Affective curatorship as a social exercise entails rehabilitation, care and reinsertion into society (Vanková, 2018). It encompasses both "caring" and "curing" for others (Duh et al., 2012; Kisin, 2017). Although this is something that is ideally performed by the pastorate and therefore bears power hierarchies, such an idealised notion of affective curatorship does not always hold in the Pentecostal fraternity. Instead, members also care for and attempt to heal one another, making the practical workings of affective curatorship more malleable. Where the church leadership is prominent, affective curatorship is typified by purging over who receives compassion/sympathy/care, who is remembered and

[56] According to Skara, *khipha faka* meant that a migrant would buy a stolen South African identity document, have the original picture removed and then retain all other details. In this sense, the migrant could then assume the legal identity of a South African and pass off as a citizen.

[57] The permits were initially issued as Zimbabwe Special Dispensation Permits but after renewal in 2013, they became known as Zimbabwe Exemption Permits. Towards the end of my project, the government of South Africa through its ministry of Home Affairs indicated that ZEPs would not be renewed at their time of expiry in December 2022. This was then revised after logistical challenges with the result that a one year extension was made to allow for a smoother exit of Zimbabweans who would have failed to secure alternative permits.

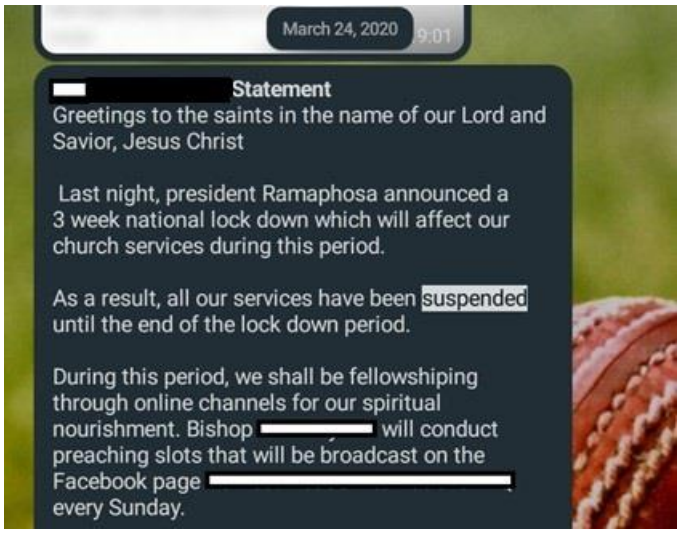
how, as well as what desired outcomes are pursued. I start this exploration of affective curatorship by tracing the strains and responses to COVID 19 in early 2020.

7.2.1 God will take us through this valley of the shadow of death

On 05 March 2020, South Africa recorded its first COVID-19 case[58] ushering in a period of restrictions on movement and gathering whose aim was to minimise spread of the virus and possible deaths. On the 8th of March, Rev preceded his sermon with a talk and short video showing of the threats posed by the COVID-19 virus and recommended behaviours to avoid contracting it. The video, which was downloaded online from Singapore's health ministry, served to offer expert medical guidance. After showing the video, Rev proceeded to deliver a message extracted from *Psalm 91:1-14.* In his reading of the bible at verse 3, "pestilence" was substituted by corona virus. Members were urged to pray for protection and a prayer was initiated in that regard. During prayer, Rev began coughing rather violently and after regaining composure, he jokingly stated that he did not have the corona virus. Interestingly, he then suggested that he would pray for everyone before adding that this would be done by stretching forth of hands. Stretching forth of hands is not new in Pentecostal settings where such practices are followed in church as well as over media such as television (Benyah, 2020; de Witte, 2011; Meyer, 2008). However, in this instance, avoiding physical contact was inspired by the corona virus scare which was now spreading in the country. Much like the virus itself, one could not see the physical spread of fear, but bodily presentation and deportment were indicative of some concern. The new normal was increasingly avoidance of bodily contact and exposure to physical interaction. Over the following weeks as government made pronouncements on public movement, health behaviours and controls, the church responded accordingly. On 23 March, all church services were suspended (Fig 7 below) and by early May, church services were conducted mostly via livestreaming on Facebook.

[58] First case of Coronavirus reported in SA | SAnews

Figure 7: Message on Church Suspension



Another message shared on the church WhatsApp Broadcast group also stated that,

> While this period is obviously going to be tough, I am confident that we will sail through. God will take us through this valley of the shadow of death. Let's keep the faith to the very end. Please continue to follow the guidelines from the government keep safe physically and keep yourself fresh spiritually knowing we are in the last days.

The eschatological stance marked yet another demonstration of concern as messages and then sermons bore a doomsday impression. Even the most senior leadership held a similar view. In a contribution to the church's annual global publication, Mirriam Moyo recounted that

> the issue of discussion here is how the pandemic affected the church in Zimbabwe. Fear and panic gripped hearts as the virus rampaged through the globe claiming thousands of lives in China, Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. […] I was initially shocked, horrified and surprised (especially about restrictions on churches). For a while I thought persecution[59] had descended on the global body of Christ, but in retrospect I realise that it was for the benefit of the nation and to minimise loss of lives (Global Speaker Magazine, 2021, p.40).

[59] Again, a reference to purging and one of the ultimate forms of anticipated curation in the Christian worldview/futures.

Indeed, the church in Zimbabwe began teachings on the end times with the bishop and his wife urging the global church to arise and spread the gospel in this final dark moment. A specific geographic area — the 10/40 window — was marked for proselytising. The "10/40 window" covers parts of north Africa, the middle east, Southern parts of Asia and China (Han, 2016), and supposedly represents an area which has no significant Christian representation and is populated by people who have not heard the gospel of Jesus. In circulating such messages, hope of Christ's return became embroiled in shared concerns and fears over the immediate welfare of members. The atmosphere was thus infused with concern and fear coupled with hope among some believers who now eagerly anticipated the second coming of Christ. Importantly, in the circulation of hope, fear and concern within the vibrant 'community of sentiment' (Cazarin, 2018), the church leadership also projected messages that gave an assurance of triumph beyond the season. Up until July 2020, the messaging was largely of concern and encouragement for members to avoid despondency in their spiritual lives. Yet, as the sections below reveal, members began to fall ill and some succumbed to the COVID pandemic with the result that a revision of sentiment was required to lessen the sense of loss.

As the pandemic set in and the initial panic subsided, the eschatological messaging also dissipated at SIT in Newtown. Attention shifted to how best to cope with the strenuous situation. Concern, worry, fear, and what could loosely be identified as weak faith were evident in messages. For example, Intercessor (a female member of the church whom I estimated to be in her fifties), disclosed that she was fearful for her life when the military was deployed onto the streets of inner-city Johannesburg ostensibly to control movement and activities of people during a declared state of disaster. In addition, as a self-employed person, she was left economically vulnerable and had to survive on rental income from her house in Zimbabwe. The pastorate too shared in the concerns for personal health and security. With people dying from the pandemic and others seeking guidance, the services of pastors were in high demand. Yet, the ability to attend to the sick, to funerals and to memorials was reduced to personal choice as it depended on whether an individual pastor was willing. As Rev recalled, many pastors were reluctant to physically attend memorials and funerals. Rev did not compel anyone to attend either but allowed for those who felt comfortable to attend to do so. "It

was about how much risk one can take. We were risking our lives." (Interview notes, 02.02.2021). Confronting COVID-19 was therefore done by few pastors.

Over time, the fear and concern generated spiritually productive forces because they enabled church members to consider their bodies and the experiences that they endured, as sites of affective transformation. Such a reconceptualisation of the events and experiences was primarily showcased in the sharing of testimonies. I had interactions with some members who revealed concern especially over the threat posed by COVID-19. These concerns were infused into narratives of change orchestrated by God and celebrated in the form of testimonies of church members. One such member was Minister Mudzviti.

> On the morning of Sunday 14 February 2021 soon after the first church service in Newtown, I had a chat with a gentleman with whom I had become acquainted. I had noticed that he had stopped coming to church since the beginning of the year and so was curious to know how he was doing and how his trip to Zimbabwe over the Christmas holiday had gone.
>
> Minister Mudzviti indicated that he had contracted COVID after arriving from his trip to Zimbabwe. He narrated how he returned to South Africa at a time when there was congestion at the border. He started off by noting that he had been tested prior to departing from Zimbabwe as well as at the time when he was due to return to South Africa.
>
> In both instances, he indicated that he had used legitimate COVID tests through reputable firms for his tests. When he got to work and after two days, he began to feel ill. He then informed his bosses who advised that he get tested again. From his recollections, he intimated that he had worked on a truck which had been used by another colleague. This colleague had tested positive for COVID. It was therefore hardly surprising that after being tested by his company's clinic as well as Lancet — an independent laboratory —, Minister Mudzviti also tested positive. Minister Mudzviti then began to self-isolate and it was during this period that he experienced great difficulty. He emphasised that "*chinhu chiya hachijairike* [one can never become accustomed to that thing]" before narrating how the episodes of the ordeal where his skin turned pale, and he could hardly smell or taste anything. The burly man also recalled that a nephew of his had advised him to scrape his tongue which he did. This was done after relying on eucalyptus oil, again on recommendation. Colleagues from work and some

> relatives only visited him to drop off food and medicine at his doorstep. During his ordeal, he remembered losing 14 kilograms in three weeks. At one point, he was exhausted but his wife in Zimbabwe kept encouraging him to stay strong. His condition was so bad that he recalls that he had to consciously remind himself not to fall asleep because while alone, he feared that he would not wake up. After steaming with oil and realising that his body was suffocating, he decided to open the windows for fresh air. He remembered that it was after this time that he finally felt like he was finally recovering.

> Minister Mudzviti's recollection was interesting to me for two key reasons. The first is that he remembered details in meticulous form. The second is that his narration did not have a single reference of intervention from church or church members. I found this odd considering that he was a minister in the church and therefore not just an ordinary member or "backbencher" as they were sometimes referred.

Minister Mudzviti's experience reveals that enduring COVID was not just a health challenge but proved to be a test of faith. More importantly, it revealed various concerns, pains and fears which were not only personal but shared across local and transnational familial and social networks. Importantly, it reveals more about what the church did not do in his time of distress. It was only through his testimony that his experiences and fears were expressed; testimonies which revealed victory and in Minister Mudzviti's case, his physical curing but suggested little about emotional or even spiritual support from the church.

Testimonies are expressions of victory which run consistent with the health and wealth gospel in their narratives of healing (Baer, 2001; Biri, 2012; Bowler, 2016). They are expressions of physical and moral victory, pronouncements of a complete cleansing. At a Sunday service which was held soon after easing of movement and gathering restrictions, five people shared their testimonies. The first four had registered to share before the service and the last one volunteered to share after calls from Rev for any other testimonies from the congregation. The testimonies were made by:

1. Minister Mudzviti (male in his late forties) — purchased a truck despite the challenges imposed by COVID. He adds that he paid his usual tithe amount as a way of trying God and it paid off.
2. Tenor (female in her early thirties) — was exposed to a COVID-infected person and survived. Her brother who could not get employment during normal times got a job after her assistance and prayers.
3. Intercessor (female in her fifties) — engaged in extensive bible study during lockdown.
4. K (female in her late thirties) — twice survived retrenchment despite being a new employee at her place of work.
5. Cheese (female in her late thirties) — tested positive for COVID-19 together with her husband and mother. They all survived. (Fieldnotes during church service, 11.10.2020)

Fears and anxieties were narrated in the recollections with speakers alluding to survival instead of mere recovery. Tenor resorted to daily rendition of a specific song for comfort and the assurance of victory during her ordeal. Additional testimonies were shared in midweek meetings. During a home cell-group meeting, Jeqe — a young lady in her thirties – testified how she had given her "first fruit offerings" which were collected at the beginning of the year with the hope of getting better outcomes at work and over her economic concerns. Jeqe recounted how the COVID lockdown proved to be a time of blessing. After participating in the first fruits offering held at the beginning of the year, she later approached her superiors at work for a promotion. The audacity of her request lay in its timing; for many companies at the time, retrenchments were part of their short-term business solutions instead of promoting employees. Fortunately for Jeqe, her test of God's faithfulness proved rewarding as she got what she had hoped for in the form of an income raise and a promotion (Field notes, 25.10.2020).

Other testimonies preceded COVID but were understood as events inspired by the divine ostensibly because they were resolved during the pandemic. One participant in another home group session shared a pre-recorded testimony which partly went as follows:

> In a country where people in my profession are a scarce skill, I still couldn't get a job. So, I had to go work at a laundry just so I could actually make ends meet.

> I worked there for a couple of months whilst I waited and waited. It took me two years to finally get placed in a job. Soooo, finally when I got the job [chuckles] I was truly excited I'm not gonna lie. It had been such a challenging time for me, and I was just happy to get a proper proper job that I had studied for and all this happened because I never gave up. I never gave up on God because I knew he'd come through for me. So basically, what I want to say to someone is never give up Right. You need to be able to put in the hard work. If you work hard and you consult, then you will certainly come through even if things are difficult. The things that you actually wish for in my life will always come with a price. So, you need to be willing to sacrifice, number one. Number two, you always need to make sure that you have a winning attitude. Henry Ford once said, 'if you think you can, or if you think you can't, you're right'. So, attitude determines whether you're gonna get far in life or you are just gonna be a nonentity. So, it's entirely up to you if you want to inspire or to just be written in the records as one who came was born, ate and died. And then lastly, I'd like to say, don't give up the faith. If it wasn't for God, I wouldn't be here. I would have given up along the way with all the challenges that I encountered. But God came through for me each and every time, so I'll forever be grateful. I would just like to close off by saying, Ephesians three, verse 20. (Fieldwork observations, 17 June, 2020)

For this member, deliverance came out of discipline, focus on one's body and mind, attention to goals and strong ties to God. The narrative suggests that before acting or even thinking through about securing the job, various forms of personal and spiritual relations had to be in place. Without mentioning application processes, the roles of social networks or other elements that might have played a role, the narrative places personal and spiritual relations as the key determinants of a breakthrough. In the participant's narrative, a person's capacity to achieve the extraordinary was conditioned by intra-personal and theocentric relations. If this was true, then it certainly posed a challenge for other members of the church because everyone was not as fortunate or blessed as the above-mentioned participant or Jeqe. Others such as Ncamsile lost their jobs because of the pandemic. Such people became economically vulnerable. The church intervened in their circumstances through extension of material and emotional support. These forms of support are briefly addressed in the following section. The forms of cure that I have so far discussed were largely personal but understood as divinely

inspired. Such interpretations of divine intervention and transformation were inadequate to provide care, cure or compassion in an affective community. The church and members were active role players in nurturing and circulation care.

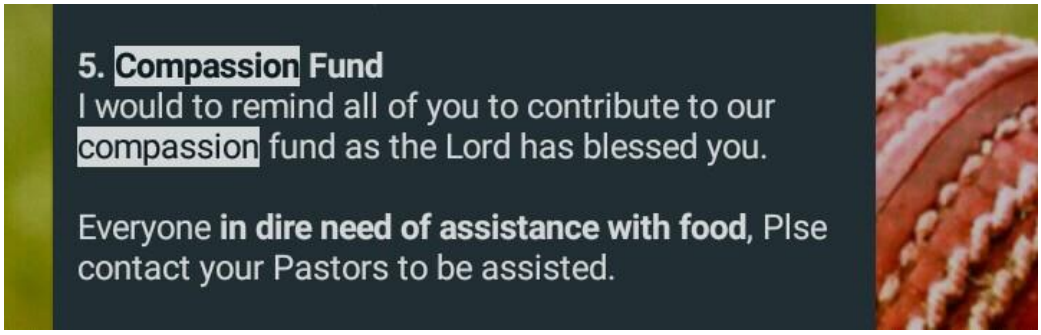
7.2.2 Community of care?

Within SIT, concerns over threats such as COVID and other vulnerabilities were primarily considered by departments such as the Care Council (CC). Prior to the COVID pandemic, the CC was often at the forefront of sharing information about illnesses, bereavements and strains endured by local members. In sharing such news, the CC mobilised activities such as showing concern, arranging for people to attend memorials, and organising hospital visits. A key term which the council deployed was compassion and it was extended in instances of bereavement, to households balking under the COVID strain, during outreach activities such as soup kitchen and giving of alms to select church members. Compassion, writes Lauren Berlant (2004), denotes distance between a privileged observer and "the sufferer over there". At SIT, the observer and the sufferer were not always clearly distinct and therefore establishing distance was not always easy. The question of who offered compassion, how and with what consequences proved contentious particularly during the COVID pandemic.

Between joining the Newtown church's CC group in April 2019 and report writing in July 2022, thirty-two death notices had been issued to announce deaths of relatives in South Africa or Zimbabwe. Three church members had also passed away. Upon the death of a member, announcements were made either in church, on the official WhatsApp Broadcast group or circulated on the Care Council WhatsApp group. I soon learnt that in most bereavements little else happened beyond issuing an announcement. In fact, the bereavements which received widespread support beyond financial contribution, are those detailed in a later section of this chapter. All others were merely publicised, but no gathering was held either physically or on virtual platforms. In this sense, showing 'compassion' to members experiencing grief was selectively done to different degree. Most members were merely recognised as bereaved while a few received support and attention in the form of visits. Later, I would discover that mobilisation was predominantly conducted by the church leadership and the official women's group, Women's Ministry.

Although poorly resourced, the CC was involved in sourcing materials from group members, other church members and from church allocations. When resources were collected, they were then redistributed to preselected beneficiaries. In Pretoria, Rev Kudzai claimed that CC provided a soup kitchen for the homeless at intermittent intervals. Unsurprisingly, CC's role became more salient during COVID lockdown as many households bore the brunt of reduced and lost income. Pleas for church members to make contributions (see Fig 8 below) were repeatedly made by the church leadership.

Figure 8: Plea to church members for CC contributions



Source: (Fieldwork 31.05.2020)

The message above was directed at would-be donors and would-be recipients. Although widely circulated, one of my interlocutors, Bubbles (whom we met in the previous chapter), remained very critical ostensibly because she had not seen the WhatsApp post; she questioned the church support system for distressed households during COVID. Criticism was largely because her friend had decided to leave Johannesburg for Zimbabwe after failing to cope with economic pressure under the strain of COVID. According to Bubbles,

> it's like now, it's so painful there is somebody else from church whose identity I will not disclose, and this person didn't have a place to stay. This person ended up going home not knowing what they would do there. What will she do back home? (Interview via WhatsApp, 10.11.2020)

Having lost her job and eventually being faced with homelessness, the friend decided to quietly leave Johannesburg. The church leadership was not aware and neither was Bubbles until the friend communicated from Zimbabwe. What irked Bubbles even more was that this friend had not reached out to seek for assistance

or support from her despite Bubbles having an unoccupied cottage and resources to share. The unnamed friend had just vanished.

Also commenting on the church's support process, Mhlonishwa argued that the church and leaders had offered wide support to members. In his words,

> For me it was made, one, at a church level; two, at personal level. So, even if the church had only given you so much, we also, at a personal level as leaders, we were willing to say hey as leaders we're going to add on, or we do this or 1-2-3 or you know try this or try that you know. Something like that.

His wife also chipped in saying, "some of these people we don't even know. There are people who probably recently arrived and want help". The extension of support for COVID relief not only stirred criticism of the leadership and the church using the rubric of love, but it also aroused defence by the leaders using the rubric of care. The leadership were showing care to members under strain but as Mhlonishwa argued, the laity were caught in shame. Munt (2008) notes that shame is 'a variegated emotion with effects and practices that are not necessarily negative'. Although not always negative, it however restricted the laity from getting support from the church and meant that conceptions of support in the church were poor. Mhlonishwa explained that,

> We didn't have a lot of people that turned up [after the message inviting people to approach their pastors for assistance]. I was expecting a big turnout, the call was made on various platforms. We literally had was it a Sunday or a week where we were given names of people to follow up. We literally took the database, we split it through all the leadership. So, I had specific names. I called the people personally — not WhatsApp. I called to make sure 'are you fine are you good do you need any help'.

On two separate occasions, I had received such calls from two leaders in the church (Pastor Munhenzva and Minister Mudzviti) with both callers stating that they were just checking up on me. The callers presumably identified individuals to call and also those households to not check up on. In such a scenario, it was therefore unsurprising that a person like Bubbles would imagine that the church was doing nothing. After all, Bubbles was reasonably well off and so she was unlikely to seek out assistance from the church or be approached for assistance presumably because

she was not identified as possibly vulnerable. In making such a reading, I do not suggest that Bubbles was completely aloof of what was around her. After all, she knew her friend's predicament despite the formal church structures' ignorance. Rather, as Berlant (2004) suggests, compassion denotes privilege which in this instance was represented by those who occupied economic and religious positions of power. I add that showing compassion as an act of extending care entails some curatorship of who gets cared for, how and by whom. It is an exercise of privilege characterised by purging as shown by selection of whom to call, allocation of resources and eventual distribution of relief packs.

Different responses to situations in the church also played out in processes where death memorialisation and solace were involved. I turn to these aspects in the sections below.

7.3 Death, memorials, and funerals

In this section, I wish to extend my exploration of affective curatorship by flagging the power relations which interlace affective ties when affective curatorship is extended. Affective curatorship evokes power between bodies. Such relations are traced in the events and experiences surrounding deaths of two prominent church members in South Africa, two obscure members, and a non-member. True to the Orwellian mantra, some of the deceased in the study were affectively "more equal than others". In other words, their deaths drew more affection than the deaths of others. The inequality was evident in the memorialisation of those who died during the COVID pandemic and how solace and consolation were extended to the bereaved.

7.3.1 Death among the 'elite'

At the height of the first COVID lockdown, the South African church lost two prominent members who had both been based in Johannesburg. Both members were sisters. One of the members was very popular while the other appeared to have had lesser influence within the church. Immediately before their demise, messages within the church had been mixed. On one hand, there was repeated encouragement to follow official behavioural guidelines to avoid contracting COVID. On the other, the messaging indicated that divine protection was assured to those who believed. It is in this context that on 03 July 2020, a condolence message was released

indicating that the two had succumbed to COVID. The message was stark for the different emphasis placed on each of the sisters which set the tone for similar memorialisation later on. The WhatsApp message read as follows:

> ⛔⛔⛔⛔⛔⛔⛔⛔⛔
>
> Bereavement: Elder Z has gone to be with the Lord
>
> It is with a sad heart that we announce the passing on of Elder Z in the early hours of today.
>
> Let's all remember this family and the Johannesburg Church during this challenging time – loosing 2 loving sisters within 24 hours cannot be easy to go thrue
>
> While we will dearly miss these 2, we take comfort in tht the dearth of the righteous pleases the Lord. These 2 hv rested from their labours and are now being comforted in the presence of the Lord.
>
> May the Holy Spirit comfort us all 😔 😔 😔

(Fieldwork observations, 03.07.2021)

The message specifically identified Elder Z but went on to mention the demise of two people on the same day. Many of the obituaries that I heard during a week-long memorial service which was held via Zoom Meetings adopted similar language. It appeared as though the death which pained most people was Elder Z's; her sister was often an afterthought. This appeared to be the case regardless of whether the speaker was in South Africa, Zimbabwe, the United Kingdom or United States of America. The pattern persisted through the sessions that I attended from the 7th to the 13th of July.

One of the eulogies went as follows:

> So, what I will briefly state is that the love that I learnt from Z and the love she has left me will live on even through the family that she has left behind. I would like to give thanks at this time for this platform which has enabled me to express myself because I was quizzing myself that in these circumstances where you can't even go and visit someone who has been hospitalised, a close friend of yours, you can't even go and pay your last respect even in the situation we are in like now. But I just want to thank you even my pastor as I want to thank you my leaders for giving us such a wonderful platform so that we can release the tensions within us because like now, I get the feeling that I am choked []. I am trying to be strong. I still ask the family, I still ask Speak In Tongues, my leaders to pray with me because I still don't believe even now as though I'm in a dream because [I remember] the first thing when I woke up would be a message from

> Elder Z just to say hi, I love you my friend. Soo these three days I would try to take my phone. I'm slowly – I'm still trying to get there trying to get to a place where I understand that for sure Elder Z is gone but what I remain with is her message which she often shared that seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness and all other things will be added unto you. I wish to promise the family that er…I will not change the things I was doing before Elder Z's departure. I'll stand with you. You are my family not because Elder Z is there or not. Because now that she is gone, you will always be my family at SIT. I will stick to the place that I learnt from. Thank you.
>
> (Researcher's translation of a participant's speech, 08 July 2020)

On the same day, a former colleague of Elder Z's also narrated her memory, webbing together the personal, professional and the spiritual aspects of how their lives became intertwined.

> I got saved in 2008. And being new in the gospel, I maintain she was somebody I could go to. People did not understand how I became friends with her. But I was gaining a lot because she was teaching me about [having] a relationship with God. I remember, she was the one person that taught me about tithe because I was asking a lot of things like if you face such a situation, so how do you do this. Does your pastor know that you pay your tithe and things like that? And she will just educate me. And I felt educated and my relationship with God got stronger because of her. Because when you look at her, she's not one of those brethren who are er [...] self-righteous. No, never got that from her. Er, she makes you aware that brethren are human. She lives on earth like other people, she's got mistakes, but she knows what's important in life. And for me, that was the biggest thing of them all […] And I think in this time when we are hurting so much, we are comforted by remembering her smile and her friendly face every time. (Mom K, 08.07.2020)

The formation of a close relationship with Elder Z did not stem from a deliberate attempt to become friends. Rather, changes in relational intensity ensued wherein ties were created and produced across professional and social fields. Reflecting on the evolution of the relationship revealed the affective ties that had become established between the Elder Z and the speaker. Much like many other speakers before and after her, Mom K also revealed the selective nature of her memorialisation. In honouring her departed friend and also seeking closure, she

carefully selected the aspects of Elder Z's personality that resonated the most with being a loving, caring and deeply spiritual person.

The eulogies that were presented constitute part of the exercise of affective curatorship. Sentiments shared through eulogies at funerals in Zimbabwe do not always portray the true nature of relations. Among the Shona, death compels the living to provide tempered eulogies and remembrance at funerals. Writing about this practice, Tarusarira (2019) observes that in Shona, they say '*wafa wanaka*' to mean that once a person dies the living stop saying negative things about them. Therefore, it is useful to view eulogies as curations of what can be said and what must remain unsaid, as reflections of social norms and ritual performances. Such norms and performances strive to reveal (positive) social affective ties. Hence, rather than understanding shared sentiments as accurate reflections of personal relations, they more aptly serve as carefully selected general reflections of social relations and courtesies.

The notion of insincerity and pretence was reflected on by Nozi, a sister of the deceased two with whom I became acquainted; she expressed dismay about the entire ordeal. She recollected that,

> People *basinenela kude*. People were not coming forth. My sister was the type of person who would make an effort to avail herself for others no matter what. But the friends that I was expecting, they never came up. We are a family my family on its own I would say we are a huge family. Our totem, it fills up buses and buses and knowing the personality that she carried, even people from churches people from friends wherever, people did not show up. I would say they showed bearing money but that's not what we wanted. We needed to […] I would have felt better if her friend had come and given me a hug. Those people didn't show up. The church where she served for many years – she lived her life for church —, but funny enough the pastors were telling them no let's do it only on Zoom. Black people or let me say humans are not meant for not being in contact. We are meant for contact. So that actually became the worst thing. From what I was expecting. I expected that there would be plenty of people. I didn't expect phone calls, I didn't expect that people console us with R1000. I expected People donated money, but I needed that […] so I would say culture

> wise we were robbed of the comfort that we expected physically. (17 March 2022)

She added that watching the memorial services unfold via Zoom Meetings was akin to 'watching a movie'. In prioritising the health regulations and protocols of the time while also attempting to perform a supporting role as the church, SIT was seen as having distanced itself from the bereaved family. During the memorial window, some close church members allegedly defied the church guidance to avoid gatherings at the home of the deceased. Such exercise and performance of grief revealed the degree of intimacy between members as well as how affective ties could upstage power arrangements. However, apparently not convinced, Nozi added,

> I felt that it was too much of pretence. People that used to come and sleep over you know […] There are people that reached out from the ministry – individuals but not under the umbrella of the ministry – and they said we won't abandon you […] Soon after the funeral, they all disappeared.

From my interactions with Nozi, it was clear that she had not been satisfied by the church efforts as well as by individual members of the church who were deemed family friends. As persons extending compassion and solace, something seemed to have lacked. The entire process had lacked an affective touch which physical contact would have resolved. I understood this less as unrestrained criticism of the church and more as regret over the difficult circumstances of the time. For example, Nozi was also very critical of the burial process which happened in Zimbabwe because the graves were not clearly marked and so nobody knew whose remains were buried in what specific side of the burial site.

7.3.2 Death and remembrance of the less prominent

If prominent figures such as Elder Z received curated shows of grief and solace, what about less prominent members? We see the distribution of affective resources in the case of a member of the Xoxo family based in Zimbabwe.

Details to the Zoom session for the Xoxo family were posted on the SIT Newtown WhatsApp platform although the family was based in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. I attended the memorial service on the prescribed day and noted that very few people

were in attendance after the first twenty minutes. On the basis of greetings and introductory remarks of those in attendance at the beginning, none of the participants were based in Johannesburg and presumably, South Africa too. About a quarter of an hour after the meeting had started, Rev logged in and most probably took note of the absence of Newtown members; he promptly typed on the church WhatsApp prayer group that "service still on for those who still can Plse [sic] do" (fieldwork observations 29.01.2021). A few minutes later, a couple of members joined the group meeting. About three days later during a private conversation that I had with Rev, he admitted that he had forgotten about the Zoom memorial service, and assumed many others had done the same too.

I understood the poor attendance of the Xoxo online memorial as firstly an indication of weak affective ties. Secondly, there had been little emphasis from leaders for members to attend, weak investment in narrowing the affective dissonance, and this exacerbated the already feeble affective ties. It was unlikely that members in Newtown would be moved to attending let alone grieving and showing emotional support. Although a message was later relayed by Rev encouraging people to participate, his admission that he had forgotten about the event suggests low levels of emotional investment. In this instance and in an economy of affect, extending of care and solace are subject to choice and power which in turn are contingent on established relations between bodies. A distant body with weak affective ties is unlikely to extract much care, concern, or compassion especially from people in far flung places.

7.3.3 Solace beyond the church: the death of a non-member

Besides attending to bereaved church members in South Africa and Zimbabwe, the researcher witnessed incidences of condolences and support in at least one funeral of a non-member. On 25 September 2020, a message was posted by Intercessor on the Care Council WhatsApp group inviting available people to participate in attending a memorial service which would be held the following morning. I responded to the message and privately availed myself. On the following day at the scheduled 9AM, I met up with Intercessor who was waiting alone outside. We engaged in small talk where I quizzed her about whose memorial service it was. At the time, I assumed it was a funeral in honour of an elder's mother who had recently

passed away. Intercessor indicated that she was unaware of whose memorial it was. She added that Rev alone had the information and he had simply requested that members of Care Council attend together with some pastors. On that Saturday morning, no other member of the Care Council attended besides Intercessor and I. After a wait which lasted 45 minutes and having been joined by two pastors (Eric and Pastor G), Rev arrived, and he promptly invited us into his car. Of the four men in attendance, I was the only one who was not a member of the clergy, and this was magnified by my casual clothing attire which contrasted with the official regalia of black suits and clergyman's collars worn by the other three men.

As a social event, the memorial service was not widely attended by members of SIT because the deceased was not a church member and notification had not been very demanding of need to attend. In fact, the deceased was a Rastafarian and his only tie to SIT was that a sister of his was a member of the church in Bulawayo. Rev and his merry band which I was a part of for the day, attended. As we made our way, we engaged in banter about life under COVID lockdown, tightening economic conditions and who the deceased was. Pastor G stated that clergymen from other churches such as Christ Embassy demanded payment for making appearances at funerals. He admitted wondering if Rev would be charging too. Rev indicated that he would not be charging because the deceased's sister had made a plea to him. In any case, as far as he had been told, some of the family members anticipated to be in attendance were former Speakers who "had backslidden". As far as Rev was concerned, the appearance would therefore be worthwhile if he could get a fraction of the family to "come back" to SIT (Fieldwork observations, 26.09.2020). Instead of an event characterised by sorrow for a dear departed, it was an occasion to win backslidden souls.

On the way to the memorial service Rev wondered aloud who would lead the singing seeing as there was nobody from choir and none of us were particularly good singers.

The memorial service was to be held at Kings and Queens in New Doornfontein. Upon arrival, we milled around before walking into one of the halls where a memorial was due to be held. Adhering to social distance protocols, we sat on one end of the room until one gentleman approached Pastor G and clarification was made that we had walked into the wrong hall and were about to attend the wrong stranger's memorial.

We promptly exited and a few enquiries later, were introduced to the deceased's family who were also milling around outside. After a short wait outside we were ushered into the right hall and a memorial service was soon in full swing. Instead of eulogising the deceased and speaking to his character – something which a pastor who knew the deceased would have done — Rev admonished attendees – many of whom were Rastafarians — for having earthly treasures but not securing their heavenly futures.

Towards the end of the event, Intercessor intimated that she would not perform the body viewing after it was revealed that the deceased had been murdered and was burnt beyond recognition. She added, "I won't be haunted by visions of a person that I did not know" before strategising a way to exit the building quietly without conducting the body viewing. We arranged to meet outside seeing as I was going to view the body as I exited. Upon meeting outside, I was surprised when Intercessor remarked how charred the body of the deceased looked. She had viewed the body after all.

Rev did most of the interacting with family members and officials from Kings and Queens. After deliberations with some of them, and presumably having offered to ferry some of them to the burial site, he asked us, "you guys are not coming to the burial, are you?" Intercessor and Eric had already resolved to abscond. I joined them in the walk[60] back to Newtown.

The event highlighted a case where curatorship failed, at least as a long-term intervention, because as far as I could tell, none of the family members returned to the church; they remained backslidden. The Rastafarian community was also not converted. Importantly, the discursive presentation neither fostered healing nor signified attempts to repair ties with the "backslidden".

7.4 The church's role in extending solace

Curatorship is not always successful in the sense that people are not always healed, or relations repaired. Instead, in some cases it is idealised and limited to a discursive engagement. Affective curatorship in the incidents that have been presented, is

[60] For the researcher, this was an insecure walk back largely because of my earlier-mentioned experience of Hillbrow that I had.

laced with power, characterised by selection, or curating of what is and what is not done/included/said, and who gets the affective resources available.

To understand how the affective ties and resources were moderated, we turn to the role of the church in managing grief, sadness, and transnational emotions. Through departments such as the Care Council, the women's ministry, and the men's ministry, the church ensured that whenever a member's close relative passed away, material, and emotional support were availed. My interactions with participants revealed the multi-pronged approach to provision of support. For instance, Sekai indicated that the Women's Ministry would provide resources and labour for the duration of a funeral or for at most one week. This provision of support did not depend on gender of the deceased. Rather, affective intensity or strength of affective ties was a key factor. Hence, when Elder Z and Sis B died, their remembrance was widely attended and financial contributions surpassed R30,000 (equivalent to US$1788.90 at the time)[61]. The contributions were unprecedented according to Rev. In Elder Z's case, Rev framed the affective ties as a reward for her seeding. He stated that she "had a strong brand; she sowed. She was a giver" and her "seeding [was] reaping fruit" (Interview with Rev, 02.02.2021).

The Men's Fellowship, whose activities I had access to, only intervened when a male member passed away. As already outlined above, some male members passed on during my field work. Collection of contributions in the men's ministry towards the funerals were made with different levels of intensity. Similarly, lethargic support from the members transpired when Pastor Munhenzva's father died. The parent was not a member of the church and so members in groups did not provide much support. However, the leadership once again ensured that the funeral was reasonably attended by driving up to Limpopo province.

When Mayisa, a prominent member of the church in Newtown, who was also very active and well-known in South Africa was murdered, again the Men's Fellowship was invited to contribute because "he was one of our own". Close to two weeks after his demise, the contributions which had been collected from men on a voluntary basis amounted to R4900 which was collected from 26 out of 67 members. The number of contributors increased in the last days from 8 to 26 after a message

[61] https://www.dailyfx.com/usd-zar on 10 July 2020.

had been relayed imploring the members to contribute. The message read, “I am sure when this happens to you, you will do with support from the brethren”. Stoking on people’s guilt appeared to appeal to some members but was insufficient to move the majority. Even after resorting to publish names of contributors in an excel document, members of the Men’s Fellowship WhatsApp group largely remained unmoved at least to make financial contributions. When collections came to an end, one pastor posted a message which read “thank you elder and Men’s Fellowship. […] I hear WM raised more money than us 🤦”. In adding a “man facepalming” emoji at the end, the pastor was expressing dismay that men had failed to support one of their own and even worse, had been outdone by the Women’s Ministry which was more generous in its giving. Attempting to extend and share solace in this instance comprised of pressing and exploiting grief and care, reaching into guilt, and finally resigning into dismay.

The three incidents above reveal the different responses to instances of bereavement. Support in terms of resources differed depending on how known and invested the deceased had been. There was a difference in how each of the sisters were remembered just as there were different responses to how the deceased male members were also honoured. People who were really close to the deceased were the ones most moved to extend support.

Besides contributions and the resource provision, the church also ensured that bereaved families were afforded emotional support. Such emotional support was predominantly manifest in availability of the pastors, close church members, and a few others. The church in South Africa and in Zimbabwe liaised to ensure that someone from within the church could superintend over the burial process. Rev had the following to say in this regard:

> Me if I am your pastor, I make sure that I bury you. If I can’t then I ask someone in Zim to do it on my behalf. That’s why I am your pastor (02.02.2021).

The point here is that a pastor’s support for a member lasted up until they were buried. A pastor’s officiation of funeral rites constituted part of their provision of solace to the family. It relieved the family of the deceased from looking for support services from elsewhere. This applied to events and processes in Johannesburg

leading up to Zimbabwe if that is where the deceased was to be buried. For all the deaths that transpired during my field work, the church was responsible for setting up virtual memorial services on platforms such as Zoom so that people could share memories, comfort one another, and extend support to the families concerned.

Provision of emotional support and physical labour in the form of counselling services and support to the deceased's families constituted what much of the scholarship has identified as affective labour (Hardt, 1999; Leurs, 2019; Wade & Hynes, 2013). However, I argue that such labour and other affects which circulated within this domain were a part of an affective economy which although open to everyone, meant that intensities of affect varied from case to case.

Affective intensities differed depending on recognition in church. Some members received wide support from the church including virtual platforms for memorialisation and remembrance while others did not. Even then, although virtual platforms may have been arranged as was the case for the Xoxo family attendance in the memorial service was very low with no more than 15 participants, none of whom were from the Newtown branch. Care, empathy, and solace were not a given. Rather, their extension was contingent upon affective intensity shared with the deceased as Rev had suggested in reference to Elder Z[62]. In this case, I suggest that a member in a distant place who was unknown to many members in South Africa could not garner sufficient affective capital to warrant widespread remembrance, empathy, and consolation. This is an argument which I wish to extend to those people who were not members of SIT, but who also participated in the affective economy through indirect social linkages. Such was the case with the deceased Rastaman.

Extension of solace to non-members, as was the case with the deceased Rastafarian, did not have as much intensity as when extended to known members of the church. From the events that I participated in, it appeared as though when extended to non-members, compassion, solace, and sympathy were available in exchange for an opportunity to proselytise. In this sense the circulation of affect was moderated

[62] Rev had indicated that an unprecedented R30,000 had been raised towards her funeral suggesting that her "seed was reaping fruit" (interview on 02 February 2021). Elder Z was celebrated as a genteel, loving and warm person who was not averse to giving or assisting others.

through the church as an institution in exchange for an opportunity to "win souls". Hence, when we attended the service at Kings and Queens, the sermon made little mention of the deceased and focused more on the religious lives of attendees. With respect to the deceased, it was an impersonal event.

7.5 Complexities in extending care: a glimpse beyond the church

Although the church pursued love, care and cure and this pursuit impressed a desire for stability among the church membership, the exigencies of migrant life meant that these goals and indeed mere stability in one's life were often tensely held. I wish to draw on two brief life histories which place emphasis on the periods of first arrival and settlement of two interlocutors. What the two reveal is that while the church pursued an ideal, the practicalities of life as migrants meant that affective community and affective solidarity beyond the church were at times difficult to establish as stability in wider social spaces proved to be elusive in some cases.

Bubbles was a 43-year-old lady who had migrated to Johannesburg to reunite with her then partner. Soon after arrival though, her relationship with her partner and father to her her child collapsed. She had then moved to stay with her brother but encountered problems with her brother's wife. Speaking of her ordeal with her sister-in-law, Bubbles revealed,

> **Bubbles:** […] we did not click at all. I started to have serious problems with her and at the time I had nowhere to stay with my young child. By that time, I did not know what to do to the extent that I almost went to stay on the streets. On the streets at a garage really. I convinced myself that I can even go to a garage and just sleep there with my baby.
>
> **AT:** With the child?
>
> **Bubbles:** Yes, with the child. You see. My, my blood brother's wife and I had never gotten along because she did not want guests in her home you see. [Ok]. She would cook and eat the meal alone. She would eat alone while you watch just like that. So, we survived on prayer and then I would sleep - prayer and sleep. What could you do because you have migrated and have no money to pay for a return trip?

Although identifying the experience as emotional, Bubbles does not specify what repertoire of emotions she experienced. Hostility from the sister-in-law coupled with the failed promise of the city were received by Bubbles as pain. The Ndebele word which she used is *kubuhlungu* which literally translates to pain which may be physical and/or emotional. After moving out of her brother's place, Bubbles was

eventually assisted by a Pentecostal church which offered her accommodation and an opportunity to earn a living. She recalled that:

> They gave me accommodation. And then I started my preschool using the church's name in their premises. Yes. So, I ran the preschool at church in my second year and third year and then left after there were problems at the church as well. And that's when I left after three years and looked for SIT because my brother was already in SIT. So... (Bubbles, 10 November 2020)

The point here is that even where love is pursued within the church, the complexities of migrant life outside of the church setup conspire to create an environment where love and mere social stability are difficult to establish. Producing a cohesive affective community and by extension care and curatorship becomes a daunting task. This is a point which is bolstered by experiences of another migrant, Thubelihle.

For Thubelihle who resided in Pretoria, reunification with her husband eventually led to separation as various factors congealed to create a scenario which she could not withstand. She recalled that:

> Ok so, basically when I left, I was when I first come to South Africa actually, I did not even have a passport, so I was a border-jumper. So, I came and then *ja*. I came and stayed for a while and then like I said I had a husband so I went to stay with my husband but he stayed in an informal settlement by then so it didn't work for me I just couldn't survive. So, me knowing I had a degree and everything I wanted a proper job and the place where we were staying, I could not see a future for that kind of a job. So, I actually went back home. Luckily, the passport that I had applied for four years back had been processed so I went back home, took that passport and then crossed again. I came back and immediately continued; we stayed in that *mkhukhu*/shack I think but then I was trying to get a job and all that stuff. So, I wouldn't say I struggled all that much that's the truth. It was just the environment. obviously coming from a house and staying in a shack, you know. But I wouldn't say I struggled like to get a place to stay and all that stuff. It was alright. And then the looking for a job part of it was the one which was very hard you know because you don't know anyone mostly in your field and I didn't have papers, obviously. Then luckily that very same year 2010 in November/December that's when they offered those ZEP papers for Zimbabweans. Yes. So, at the time that they offered ZEP, I didn't even have a job but luckily there was some company that needed social workers. It wasn't even registered. It was in East Rand. So, I was referred there when I got there, they offered me the job, so I just used their offer of employment to apply for that permit.

She added that settling-in socially was difficult for her.

> Hey. Early in my arrival, it was hectic I don't wanna lie. Like I said I arrived and stayed in an environment that just was not conducive for my… for the kind of life that I was used to. You know, coming from university and then you are thrown deep

> end. In Marabastaad! Most people who stay there are those who go and sell stuff at Home Affairs [offices in town]. Others are cell phone thieves; they would come back and sell us the stolen phones. So, it was kind of hard. I couldn't make friends and of the people that I knew from university none stayed in Pretoria, they were all in Joburg. But also, there was that thing, you know, when you are not working it's hard to link with people who are working because you feel like you are a burden. If they say let's get together, you don't have money. Let's do this, you can't go there. So, I was kind of, keeping to myself. You know, I was just living my life there alone without friends; I would go wherever I go alone and everything and I would just contact people maybe if I need to print my CVs and what what but it was just me being alone. *Ja*.

With a difficult period of initial settlement in the city as well as marital complications, Thubelihle's experience demonstrates how the social experiences away from church complicated the lives of migrants. Some areas of life appeared outside of the reach of churches especially during the early periods of settlement. This is a theme that is addressed further within the context of care during the COVID pandemic. For now, it is useful to recognise that despite the church doctrine and efforts from members to engender affective community, the broader complexities of migrant social life meant that cohesion could not always be assured.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the circulation of fear, worry, concern, care, memorialisation, and solace within SIT. The chapter complemented feminist scholarship which has identified ugly feelings, negative effects, sadness, and dysphoria emotions within a translational Pentecostal setting. In providing a link between the institutional and personal affects, the chapter has also engaged macro-level conceptions of affect. These conceptions have dealt with affect in political and economic arenas without paying much attention to how the institutional or meso-level enables mediation and curation of affect between and across the macro and micro. The chapter has revealed that affect is institutionally moderated. Although affect circulate(s) between and within bodies, transnational linkages are moderated via institutions. Building on the conception of the church as an institution, the chapter has revealed the church's role in the circulation of affects amongst members who are in Johannesburg, Pretoria and in Zimbabwe. The church plays a role in shaping who is grieved over, how intense such grieving is and who participates. Similarly, the church extends support in cases where fear, worry and

concern play out. Its interventions can heighten such affects (as was the case in propagating eschatological theologies) but it can also temper them through provision of emotional and material support (as was done by the Care council). Moreover, the church is not always able to reach all areas of strain in the lives of migrants based in South Africa.

Writing on the history of compassion, Marjorie Garber (2004) points out that compassion could be verbalised as in being "compassionate" with someone. She then proceeds to offer an example from Luke 10:25–37 which presents the parable of the Samaritan. In the chapter's discussion of compassion, I have attempted to demonstrate how it is active as an affective mode. In other words, it does not merely manifest but is rather afforded to some, and restricted to others. A similar economy revolves around provision of solace. At SIT, solace is not universally afforded but relies on deployment of affective labour (Gregg, 2009) in contexts of death and bereavement. In other words, extension of solace, empathy, comfort, and compassion forms part of the work which pastors and senior officials are anticipated to engage. However, distribution of these affective resources follows irregular patterns among congregants and non-members. Although it is true that resources were often pooled to support bereaved members, the intensity and activity around bereavement for different members varied. The chapter has demonstrated the differences through deaths of elites, peripheral members, and a non-member.

Having explored affect in the social networks of the church and in circulations of love and happy affects in the previous two chapters, the present chapter has offered a reading of affective economies through dysphorian affects. This has built onto the dynamic production, circulation, and curation of affects within transnational Pentecostal assemblages. In the following chapter, I synthesise my theoretical arguments and embrace a reflexive stance on the research project. I also indulge in a futuristic agenda for theoretical and empirical, research and practical formulations.

Chapter 8: Reflections and projections on affect in religion scholarship

8.1 Introduction

Economies of affect reveal the affective relatedness of bodies in social space. In my study, I have demonstrated that within transnational settings, the relatedness is co-produced through church teachings, church technologies, events, rituals, social activities, and attachments drawing together members and the church founder. The argument that I have advanced is that affect(s) is co-produced in the church to yield affective community, affective solidarity, and affective curatorship. Furthermore, affective community and affective solidarity as expressed through such feelings as love, compassion and companionship are marked by tensions which culminate in either restitution of ties or rupture. Although the ideal form of relatedness was articulated in doctrine and some church processes or technologies, the laity in the Pentecostal church that I studied participated in a much more dynamic web of affective relatedness where production, negotiation and sustenance of love, care, compassion, and repair were characterised by flux. Mine is an argument that I have developed against affect scholarship which suggests the pure emergence of affect and its unfettered circulation. In my research, affect was productive at SIT, as a result of negotiations in how relationships formed and evolved. Such dynamism was evident despite attempts by the leadership to impose and/or demand set affective ties in the form of loyalty and authority.

The study explored the lives of Zimbabwean transnational Pentecostal migrants based in Johannesburg and Pretoria using affect as a galvanising conceptual thread. I explored how affect sustains ordinary ties *with* and ties *between* Pentecostal migrants in their religious, and social lives. The study that I conducted considered relations on three levels: the personal, interpersonal, and corporate. The relations were considered across transnational spaces where I argued affective space is a constituent. Drawing from conceptions of affect that are inspired by Benedict/Baruch de Spinoza (1901) and in agreement with Slaby & Röttger-Rössler (2018), I embraced affect as a relational force that brings bodies of various kinds into interaction. The outcome of such interactions is typically either binding, fissure, or fracture. Affective community, affective solidarity and affective curatorship are

concepts that I engaged, complemented, rearticulated, and formulated to attend to these social dynamics.

I was particularly drawn to love and compassion as affect-inducing cornerstones of relations within the religious domain. Romantic love and love among brethren have been discussed by Prichard (2017) who also explores community in a Tanzanian community. Her "affective spiritual community" is, however, constrained to ties within the church, a position that I shy away from due to the open nature of social ties. Religious communities continue to interact, intersect, and engage with a much broader society. Relying on affective lens, the breadth of Pentecostalism's appeal offers researchers a rich terrain to explore broad implications of its growth with respect to notions of national community, political community, and solidarities. On the basis of what the thesis has presented, it is evident that Pentecostalism offers ways in which people in local and transnational contexts share affective and emotional ties which both foster coherence and engender dissent and discord. These largely immaterial affective ties complement the scholarship which has attended to affectivity in urban assemblages (Burchardt, 2019; De Boeck & Baloji, 2016; Lange, 2020; Tan, 2013) and thus emphasises the vibrancy of African urban spaces.

The study also engaged scholarship on affective community (Da Costa, 2016; Lehmann et al., 2019; Maksić, 2017; Pine, 2008; Prichard, 2017) and revealed that although there were attempts to produce a church-led notion of loyal community, such construction of an affective community was, in some instances resisted, and then eventually negotiated. Church teachings were largely accepted but objections were made in response to those that projected authoritativeness which was deemed inconsistent with scripture. Moreover, love – which was one avenue through which to establish solidarity–, was enticed in the church but proved to yield differing levels of affective unity. Through weddings and marriages, love eventually revealed cracks in the boundedness that SIT aspired to claim. Lastly, affective curatorship spotlights the redemptive role that members and the leadership adopted to reclaim fissured ties.

Using the three interweaving concepts of affective community, affective solidarity, and affective curatorship enabled me to address:

- The role(s) that Pentecostalism plays in the (re-)production of religious, and social affective experiences of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg and Pretoria.
- Pentecostalism's meaning for migrants in the city.
- Pentecostalism's (re)definition of religious, social, and ~~economic~~ boundaries and cleavages between the "born-again" and "unsaved" in an urban setting.
- The emotional and affective resources that Pentecostal migrants harness in negotiating religious, social, and economic fields.
- The place of emotions and affects in boundary-setting and cleavage-formation of transnational migrant networks.

In this chapter, I synthesise the issues discussed, and arguments developed. I also position the scholarship that I have engaged as a scholarship bearing some potential for future exploration.

8.2 Thematic connections

There are three key literatures and conceptual areas that the study has been concerned with: the mobility/circulation of affect, transnational affect, and affect-religion intersections.

With respect to affect's movement, concepts such as atmospheres, trajectories, and regenerations have shown movement across space and in the passage of time. I have largely attended to circulation of affect in a transnational arena where the church and its members participate in an economy typified by co-production and sharing of love, care, and compassion. I have complemented the scholarship by exploring affect as economies which are generative, productive, negotiated, and revived within a Pentecostal environment. In the process, I have agreed with Mazzarella (2009) who recognises that affect is not beyond language. This has not been demonstrated through how I depict affective registers but through the ways in which the church pastorate deploys messages to shape affective ties among members. In practise, the

church, its members, and non-church members were involved in a dalliance which enticed affective ties of various kinds.

The exploration of affective economies has detailed how affective ties play out in transnational social spaces. It has demonstrated that within the Pentecostal context that I studied, affects are produced and become habituated through church teachings, discourses, practices, events, and functions. As a religious organisation, SIT deploys various techniques to engender love among brethren while also encouraging unmarried members to commit to romantic love. These are engineered to produce affective community and affective solidarity within the church. However, church activities sometimes yield undesirable outcomes which summon the interventions of the church leadership and some members. The interventions that I allude to manifest through affective curatorship which is a reparative, restorative, curative and purgative intervention aimed at reviving souls. While I have detailed how these play out in previous chapters, I wish to highlight how in sum, they are bound together into a thematically coherent treatise.

The affective turn comprises of a cacophony of affect interpretations and conceptions. This study has followed on the scholarship that sympathises with Spinoza-Deleuze-Guattari thinking. In this sense it has embraced a conception that is expansive to include both the corporeal and the corporate as affective. In pursuing this path, I have followed on recent scholarship that conceives of affect as relational (Pedwell, 2014; Slaby & Röttger-Rössler, 2018; von Scheve, 2018). Affect as relation avoids the subject-oriented notion of affect as depicted by the Tomkinsan scholarship. Instead, it enables for analyses which consider more than the subject to incorporate organisations and institutions (Churcher et al., 2022).

With respect to affect and religion, Schaefer (2015) alerts us to the salience of affect in magnifying power complexities within religious ‘formations of power’. Schaefer’s work pushes back at post-structuralist readings of affect which are inspired by sympathisers of Deleuzian scholarship. While I have agreed with the power interplays in religious entities and have indeed alluded to power at SIT, I have been less enthusiastic about the dismissal of Deleuze’s ideas. This I have done because of the

role that church discourse has in shaping affective ties around loyalty and submission. As the study has shown, loyalty was expected of church members. To engender it, teachings and talks were held. However, church members could push back on some claims especially when such claims appeared to contradict biblical teachings. There was therefore a discursivity to production of affective ties.

Moreover, there were contests and negotiations over the exercise of power and authority. I have, however, not stopped at recognising the power plays inherent in the religious organisation but have shown that discourse, events, and practices are useful in creating negotiated affective community(ies) in the church. In this sense, I complement Ahmed's (2004, 2013) conception on the social productivity of affect albeit outside of a racialised and feminist frameworks.

Besides the above-mentioned three areas, I have also attended to some academic interests and debates which enriched my work and specifically resolved my sub-questions. These are presented in the subsections below.

8.2.1 Pentecostalism and the city

Pentecostalism is a predominantly urban phenomenon in Africa and Latin America (Corten & Marshall-Fratani, 2001; Haynes, 2012; Martin, 2002). Through its use of media technologies, it occupies ~~the~~ soundscapes (de Witte, 2008) and imprints the landscapes of the urban environment. In South Africa, it is fused with local cultural beliefs (Zulu & Wilhelm-Solomon, 2015) especially among African Independent/Initiated Churches. I have hinted at SIT's participation in heritage celebrations in South Africa as well as its immersion into the city through proselytising, social outreach via Tabitha Teachings as well as the church's own social events which were held in city parks and conference venues. These activities induce affective labour while fostering a sense of affective community. Offering food to the homeless during Tabitha Teachings as well as proselytising and offering counsel to people on the street were all forms of expending affective labour.

As Comaroff (2012) reveals, Pentecostalism intersects with post-millenarian beliefs and cosmologies. This is typical in the Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches which

import some rituals from western counterparts. Hence, consumption and projection of modern lifestyles are important (Casciano, 2022; Kirby, 2019; Maxwell, 2006). While little has been demonstrated in the study with respect to economic activities, I have alluded to weddings as occasions where love was celebrated, and through which affective solidarity was demonstrated. Manqoba Moyo's wedding also demonstrates consistencies with the consumption that Comaroff (2012), Meyer (2002), Haynes (2012, 2017) and other scholars have alluded to in their separate works.

8.2.2 Boundaries in affective spaces?

In discussing economies of affect, I have used economies in its expansive sense to highlight the homologous ties that affect induces in religious and social settings which are both local and transnational. The transnational social space that I explored was animated by transnational affects (Wise & Velayutham, 2006, 2017) which connected members and non-members in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Gweru, and other cities across the globe. In this sense, my work finds consistency with geographies of emotions (Groes & Fernandez, 2018b; Thrift, 2004), affective circuits (Cole & Groes, 2016; Fesenmyer, 2016), networked affect (Dean, 2010; Stage, 2017). Fluid religious, social and affective ties connected bodies together. SIT had a sizeable global footprint which, outside of Zimbabwe, was most marked in South Africa. Members were bound together through bishop (directly and via his surrogates), the church doctrine, church teachings, as well as private social events and activities. They were part of a church community but also part of a broader migrant and local community. Boundaries were therefore not fixed to separate affective ties in church and outside of it. Rather, affective distance (Karakayali, 2009) was created both among members as well as when in contact with non-members with whom one was uncomfortable.

We have witnessed how love among brethren hinted at the affective distance between some members. Without deploying clear social boundaries, affective relations between members revealed the micro communities that exist within the church. House visits, wedding invitations and marriage ceremonies were attended by those with whom one was close. At the slain Rastafarian's memorial service,

Intercessor had declared that 'I won't be haunted by visions of a person that I did not know' and indicated she would not be viewing the body as we filed out of the Kings and Queens funeral services chapel. Although she had proceeded to view the body, she was quick to point out the tragedy of becoming tied in some social networks by recounting how one relative of hers had died as a result of associating with bad company while she had evicted another from her house. Hard boundaries were therefore not emplaced even though ways of creating distance and distinction prevailed. In other words, at SIT, people did not dissociate from outsiders but merely created distance in their affective ties. But what of ties within the church?

In church we encountered Bubbles who loaned a colleague money for a wedding but was surprised when an invitation did not come. Other members who had been active for years were also still uninvited, years after joining the church and moving to Johannesburg. Although Rev indicated that even pastors were not invited to some weddings, this must be taken within the context of logistical issues such as when a wedding is held in Bulawayo instead of Johannesburg. Besides such circumstances, members would ordinarily invite their service pastor unless such a pastor was not familiar with the couple. Knowing and being known were therefore instrumental in determining whether a person could enter into other members' affective spaces.

In Durkheimian readings of religion, there lingers a conception that separates the sacred from the profane world. In addition, Weber (2001) also foretold that there would be 'disenchantment of the world' as mankind progressed. Consistent with this thinking emerged the secularisation thesis with its progeniture. In this study, I have engaged in work that highlights vitality in religion by tracing the growth of a transnational Pentecostal church. Not only does this suggest continued relevance but, as I have noted through affective curatorship, that there is a dynamism to affective ties that breaches boundaries between the sacred and the profane. In other words, the study has shown how transnational space is affectively charged, how interactions in the city play out in an affective space which is non-discriminatory, and how Pentecostal practise is attuned to social issues occurring outside of the church. In this sense, I am in agreement with researchers in the

Southern African context (see for example: Chidester, 2012; Togarasei, 2015) who have eschewed the binaries splitting religion and the world.

8.2.3 Affective ties as social resources

The thesis has considered affective ties as social resources which enable forms of cohesion as well as agency of individuals. In the latter instance, ruptures in the church and in relationships suggest claims to selfhood, to identity to expression of truths which diverge from church discourse, church ideals and theological anticipations of cohesion in the church group. Hence, love among brethren was not ubiquitous but proved to be a resource variably distributed depending on affective distance. This contribution is consistent with scholarship that recognises dynamism of social groups. However, the theoretical novelty is in highlighting how affects and emotions are key elements in the dynamism within religious groups.

Clough (2007) argued for harnessing affect into social research because it enabled tracing of change. Bray & Moore (2020) then suggested that affect could help us think about ritual and faith in modern times. We have gone beyond matters of faith as well as past unqualified change at SIT. We have seen continuity and social relatedness in the mundane. The affective resources that mitigate member ties and enable members to engage with broader society include love, compassion, and loyalty. Love was discussed through two lenses: love among brethren and romantic love. It was complemented by compassion which was attached to events such as funerals and dealing with the strain of COVID-19. Loyalty was synonymous with authority, and it formed a cornerstone of attaching members to the church, the bishop, and the wider leadership. Through covering theology, it also constituted a means to legitimate the bishop as supreme authority. The affective resources were understood to be instrumental in establishing affective community, affective solidarity, and affective curatorship. That is, they were both binding and fracturing. Much like affective distance (Karakayali, 2009) which can be deployed even among those with whom one shares common factors, the affective resources were dynamic.

Love in the two senses that I have discussed it, was yearned for. Church members such as Chawa regretted that they had not been shown love. Chawa's experience

was particularly revealing as he spoke from personal experience as well as from observing a friend of his who relocated back to Zimbabwe. In other interactions, love proved to be a major concern even among leaders. Welcome, for example, had suggested that as a leader, more needed to be done. There were rebuttals to some claims as the COVID relief initiated by the church had demonstrated. Members had been contacted but few took on the offer availed. Much like love, compassion was also variably distributed. Who was mourned and how much support their remembrance got were issues that could be identified across memorial services and funerals. In the broad church community, the differing shows of compassion and love suggest that although desirable, affective community and affective solidarity were at times difficult to forge.

The study engaged affective community and affective solidarity from the rich scholarship on community and social solidarity (Bayertz, 1999b; Draper, 2014; Gofman, 2014; Tönnies, 2001). It also recognised that community and solidarity have been theorised with affect as an enjoining lens (Hemmings, 2012; Hutchison, 2013, 2016; Maksić, 2017). Complementing this area of knowledge, the study highlighted the dissonance and consonance that enable community and solidarity to form. It also emphasised that affective community was co-produced through discourses, practices and via the bishop as supreme leader. Through efforts to facilitate romantic relationships, the church attempted to enable affective solidarities. Members in their individual capacities also attempted to enter romantic relationships. However, having undergone the courtship phases of these relationships, the litmus test for affective solidarity was often marriage and wedding arrangements. Here, by considering who was and who was not invited, clarity was established that only those who were affectively close received invitations.

Even where there were claims to affective and social proximity, members found ways to contest some demands for community and solidarity. Contestations included quoting the bible to challenge doctrine and avoiding participation in some events among other tactics. Rev who was widely liked and attended many occasions was not exempt from this. Just as a member contested the claim that bishop was father to all, when it came to Rev, some church members were wary of giving offerings

meant to express gratitude for his service. Rev's subjective knowledge and experience were contested.

8.2.4 Space — Affect — Pentecostalism

In the process of answering the research questions that I had set out to engage, I found the literatures on affect, transnationalism, and Pentecostalism to have commonalties that invited a serious discussion.

With regards to affective ties in local and transnational space, the study has revealed that divergent ways of belonging are manifest through acts of giving, of showing care, and of sharing love. These acts sought to establish affective solidarity which was not always uncontested. In the context of migrant life, affective solidarity could be elusive due to the living arrangements which distanced members both physically but also affectively. Residing in disparate areas of Johannesburg and Pretoria meant that members could not always visit one another. Across geopolitical boundaries and during the COVID pandemic, expressions of care proved equally diverse as some families did not receive as much care and compassion as others. I hasten to add that in soe instances, members demonstrated strong ties which drew the together in mini groups within the broader church. These findings are consistent with Durkheimian social solidarity which has been recognised in times of strain (Mishra & Rath, 2020) and over the course of time (Stjern & NetLibrary, 2005). More importantly though, I engage with the concept of affective solidarity and demonstrate that iin addition to drawing from dissonance as Hemmings' (2012) feminist critique suggests, affective solidarity also hints at affective distance (Karakayali, 2009). Read together, multiple social ties culminate in diverse ways of affective relatedness and connectedness both in local and transnational spaces.

Scholars of transnationalism have attended to a serious theorisation of transnational space (Bruneau, 2010; Fuchs, 2007). Transnational space is not essentialised but results from processes of movement and engagement which vary from one migrant group to another. Through SIT, the study recognised the active construction of such space through the church's growth as well as through activities, teachings, and circulation of materials such as music compact discs and church construction materials. Not only was there a co-construction of affective space but the space was

seldom fixed. In the transnational ties that I explored as constituents of dynamic affective space, my findings differed from O'Neill's (2013) work. O'Neill suggests that affective space comprises of "felt difference amid an unevenly interrelated world". Yet, the transnational space that I explored was also constituted by a breaching of the sacred-profane divide and resultantly blurred differences between the church and parts of the city. Affective entanglements were encountered in Johannesburg, a kaleidoscopic city characterised by crime, insecurities, opportunities, riches, cosmopolitanisms, and vibrancies.

But the space that was explored was not just transnational. It was a transnational space marked by affect and emotional commitments (Escandell & Tapias, 2010). In this sense, it was a socially constructed terrain bringing migrants and locals together in emotional and affective ties that bound some together and broke others apart. Some researchers have begun to engage this transnational geography and its intersection with Pentecostalism through emotions and sentiments (Cazarin, 2018; Cazarin & Burchardt, 2020). This is a very productive arena which the study has engaged. Transnationalism, Pentecostalism, and affect are mutually complementary and reinforcing. We see this through the slain Rastaman's case. His sister, a member of SIT in Zimbabwe, reached out to colleagues in Johannesburg to ensure a dignified and proper memorial and burial. Although understood as a mission to also win back souls by Rev, it was also an endeavour to give hope to the grieving and repair hurting souls.

8.3 Methodological reflections

Affective methodologies are still a relatively new conceptual arena that draws from other established and contested approaches to social sciences. In my work, I have been swayed back and forth, flirted with, embraced, and discarded epistemological paths and eventually settled on what I believe are productive avenues for robust social research. In this sense, I have negotiated a methodological route which, if understood in Knudsen et al.'s (2022) sense, resembled a social experiment incorporating my entanglement with the field and participants in sensuous ways. I felt the welcome and love of SIT leaders and still was reminded of my distance as an outsider. In joining the Care Ministry, I was drawn to an arena which appeals to

my imagined ideal practice of Christianity which is built around compassion. In this sense, when conducting my work, I was guided by affective connections with the field. As intimated in Chapter Four, researchers such as (Spry, 2001) are sceptical of relying on emotions and sensibilities in academic work. This criticism might be levelled, in part, on my work. Yet, there is no scholarly work in which a researcher is not emotionally or affectively invested. Research projects of various kinds contain pages which highlight the travails and triumphs which moved researchers in the execution of their work. In acknowledging these, the projects recognise the materials, events, and ideas which played a part as buoys, anchors, or torpedoes in the pursuit of successful completion of projects. My work is not markedly different.

The COVID pandemic presented some logistical challenges which affected the extent to which some empirical sites could be accessed. While the adoption of innovative ethnographic work was made, there remain areas which could further have been explored and deserve attention in future research. One such avenue is Pentecostalism's role in carving affective lives more broadly beyond the church. Although I attended to social events/outings, these were evidently prior to COVID. The relations in more intimate social spaces, in places of work, in transit areas during mobility or even in transnational space on a much more regular basis are potentially worthwhile areas of exploration.

8.4 Recommendations for affect scholarship and future potentials

Debates on the social value, role(s) and outputs of affect continue to gather pace. What I have found interesting are the empirical hues that continue to emerge in disparate places. As socially productive forces, affects are recognised in music genres, in religion, in commerce and in politics among a host of other contexts.

Among researchers on the African continent, affect studies stand out like an oasis in the desert. I am not sure that the oasis has so far quenched the curiosity and thirst of scholars of affect. There remain vast areas of potentially fruitful enquiry some of which I present below.

An immediately obvious area of future enquiry is on the gendered experiences of affective ties within religious communities. Here I recognise the limited scope and attention that my work has had in its focus. Much more could be done to draw into debate feminist affect scholarship (Ahmed, 2010; Hemmings, 2015) with the scholarship of gender in Pentecostal churches (Kaunda & John, 2020; Núñez, 2015).

Prichard (2017) has initiated a research agenda that follows a historical reading of affect in African religious movements. My work has done little to trace such historical roots in my selected Pentecostal church. There remains room to explore affects as rooted in the histories of Pentecostal churches. Not only does such a direction highlight the historical salience of affective ties in the movement but it will help shed light on how affects have been generative of sustained connections with broader publics.

I have already motivated the attraction and seductions of the city as empirical sites rife with possibilities for exploring Pentecostalism. Yet, this arouses the valid retort, "what about rural areas". Pentecostalism is not just an urban phenomenon and as such, has much to reveal in rural settings where affectivity and affective relations most certainly exist.

I anticipate that among scholars of African religion, concern will be expressed over the dearth of "African" thinking tools in my exploration of African Pentecostalism. Here, I recommend that future scholarship can experiment with deploying African philosophical and epistemic tools. I do not envisage that there are African affects that will be identified but, suspect that different conceptual lens and epistemologies may avail new ways of thinking about affect in different contexts.

Lastly, I have formulated affective curatorship as a vivifying, reparative approach that was used in my empirical site to cure souls and repair affective relations. I anticipate that affective curatorship can also be deployed outside of the Pentecostal and religious arena to consider wide social and political relations. If deployed to understand political, religious, and other associational and communitarian groups, affect offers a novel way through which to understand African society and processes.

Here I have in mind debates which have tended to offer rationalism as a way to explain religious activity. The vitalism that continues unabated within Pentecostalism might defy rationality particularly as critiqued in public discourses, but it certainly fits well in affective readings. Embracing affect also adds value in steering away from binaries which insist on making hard distinctions between materiality/immateriality, sacred and profane. Affect avails tools that merge and disrupt such real and imagined consistencies. Affect is relevant because although still peripheral in African scholarship, life on the continent and in the cities (De Boeck & Baloji, 2016; Dilger, Bochow, et al., 2020; Simone, 2004) is imbued with affect stretching from colonial times (Prichard, 2017). What remains is for researchers to grapple with questions on why amidst the poverty, disease and all other negative tropes and realities, Africa continues to smile, hope, and dream. What does this complex set of relations say about the way we relate as affective bodies? Where does it say we are as feeling, affecting, and affected bodies? Within Pentecostalism, Comaroff (2012, 2014) has begun to disentangle this complexity largely scrutinising it as a post-millennial manifestation. This might give clarity to questions in urban areas but in zones where consumption and consumerism are less pronounced, there remains much to learn.

When Pasura (2012) explored Zimbabwean Catholics in Britain, he highlighted the transnational ties that connect a vibrant community in a secularising space. I have explored an equally vibrant group in the context of religious vitality. Pentecostalism on the African continent is as vivacious as ever stirring debates on its developmental role (Freeman, 2012), its moral complexities (Casciano, 2022; Haynes, 2012; Kgatle & Anderson, 2021; Lindhardt, 2014, 2015) as well as its technologies (Baer, 2001; de Witte, 2008; Meyer, 2002). Engaged in some of these debates are researchers from Zimbabwe who have considered Pentecostalism through moral lens (Biri, 2012, 2018; Chitando & Biri, 2016) in academic settings (Gukurume, 2022) and in migrant communities (Chereni, 2014; Dube, 2017). I have added voice to this scholarship by attending to affective ties that bind Pentecostals in this arena. While Mukonyora (2020) invoked affect in her work, I have complicated how we understand affective ties by revealing sociomaterialities (Katila et al., 2019). That is, affect does not connect bodies through emotions and corporeality alone but even through materials,

objects, church teachings and doctrine. This is a subtle yet conceptually marked difference not only with the study in Zimbabwe but in debates about affect. In short, it is an engagement with the debate between the narrow and broad conceptions of affect (chapter two). On one hand are thinkers who limit affect to the body where it can be understood via categories; on the other hand are thinkers who have a much broader view which are akin to Thrift (2004) 'networks of pipes and cables' metaphor. The Zimbabwean church served to push my argument across. Like the many other Zimbabwean churches that now follow on Forward in Faith Ministries' long established transnational reach, SIT provokes further research on what affective resources they harness in their expansion.

Unlike Forward in Faith Ministries which managed to recruit converts in the areas that it expanded (Maxwell, 2006, 2013), SIT appears confined to largely appealing to the Zimbabwean migrant market. I have suggested that this can be accounted for by the affective distance that members create.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: COVID-19 and the church

Date	Event
5 March 2020	First official case of the novel coronavirus is recorded in South Africa
8 March 2020	Sunday service, the Rev takes time to speak about COVID-19 and encourages people to exercise caution. He preludes sermon with informative video on the virus from Singapore.
13 March	A half night of prayer is held and by this date, the number of infections is at 10. Approximately 30 people attend the event.
15 March	Normal church service is held and it is at a time when public information about the virus on corona is high. There is heightened awareness in the public domain but in church it is still business as usual as people continue to be encouraged to "greet your neighbour"
17 March	Activities still as normal at church with the WhatsApp Broadcast noting Tuesday prayers in the evening.
19 March	A statement on COVID-19 is circulated on WhatsApp, adhering to the 100-member gathering which the government has set as the maximum for gatherings. A form link is circulated for church service attendance. All events suspended until further notice.
23 March	President Cyril Ramaphosa announces a 21-day national lockdown
	Having seen the announcement on the lockdown on the previous night, Rev circulates message suspending all services including the Tuesday service for that day.
	On the same afternoon, bishop is set to address members via Facebook live but is failed by 'technical' challenges. The video is however availed later (after a couple of days)
	Having failed to watch the Facebook live feed, Rev shares prayer points under the auspices of the "Global prayer & fasting schedule"
26 March	Is set aside by western cape hub for fasting. Videos released with focus on mantles and NOT apostolic anointing on 25 & 26 March.
27 March	Audio from more than a year ago is circulated in which Rev (then a pastor in Randburg) teaches on
23 April	President Cyril Ramaphosa announces that starting from 01 May, a gradual lowering or phasing down of lockdown levels will begin with the first and most stringent level being Level 5. Shift will be made from Level 5 to Level 4. Under level 4, church gatherings will continue to be prohibited.
24 May	Announcement by President Cyril Ramaphosa on the lowering of lockdown levels from 4 to 3 starting from 01 June; this allows for church gatherings of up to 50 people.
31 May	Church circulates message pronouncing its position on the Level 3 regulations. Church will (i) not be opening at the weekend, (ii) reviewing position every two weeks, and (iii)continuing with online activities.

01 June	Level 3 commences
08 June	Praise and worship team of four (3 women and one man) records video from church premises which is flighted on the Facebook page.
21 June	Rev announces that church will resume at the Newtown site in the first week of July.
July	Church remains closed as the COVID-19 situation remains precarious
12 September	Church opens its doors for the first time under strict guidelines and number limits.
21 September	Move to alert level 1 which allows for freer travel across specified jurisdictions (local and international)
09 December	A second wave of the virus is announced by authorities. Some provinces face restrictions while Gauteng remains under strict monitoring.
28 December	Because of rising infections, alert level 3 with stringent restrictions is imposed for an initial period of 2 weeks. Key among the restrictions is prohibition of gatherings for religious purposes.
29 December	SA resumes an adjusted Level 3. Church reverts to online platform
01 February 2021	Restrictions are lifted. One such restriction is on church closures. They are granted permission to hold gatherings of not more than 50 people at a time.
07 February	Rev announces that physical church services will resume starting on the 14th. First fruit offerings are still being collected so those who want to bring cash can do so; those wary of cash can use electronic means. “if you don’t want to hold cash”
14 February	Church opens and is well attended, breaching the 50 people limit. Second service to resume next week as well as Home Groups this week.

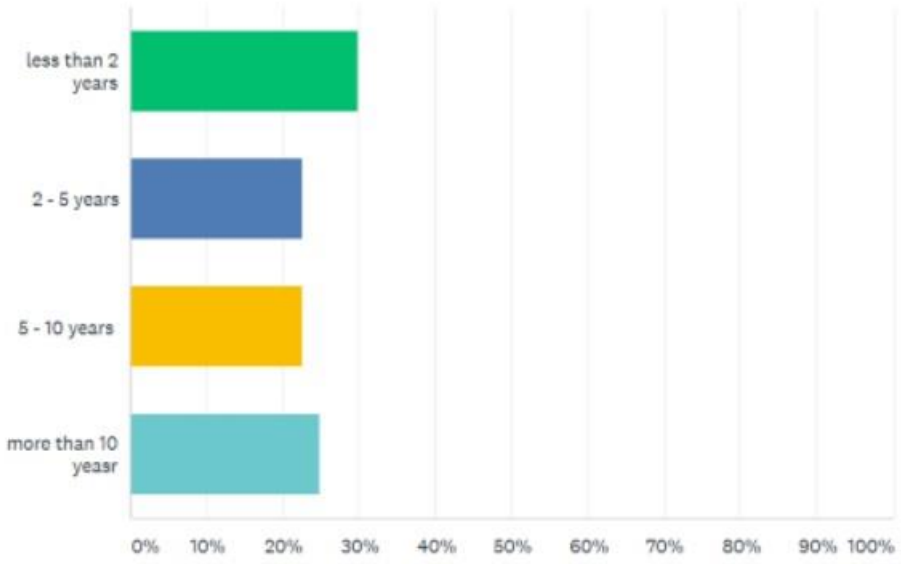
Appendix 2: Couples meeting survey

SIT **Couples Survey Results**

1. **90% of respondents are formally married**

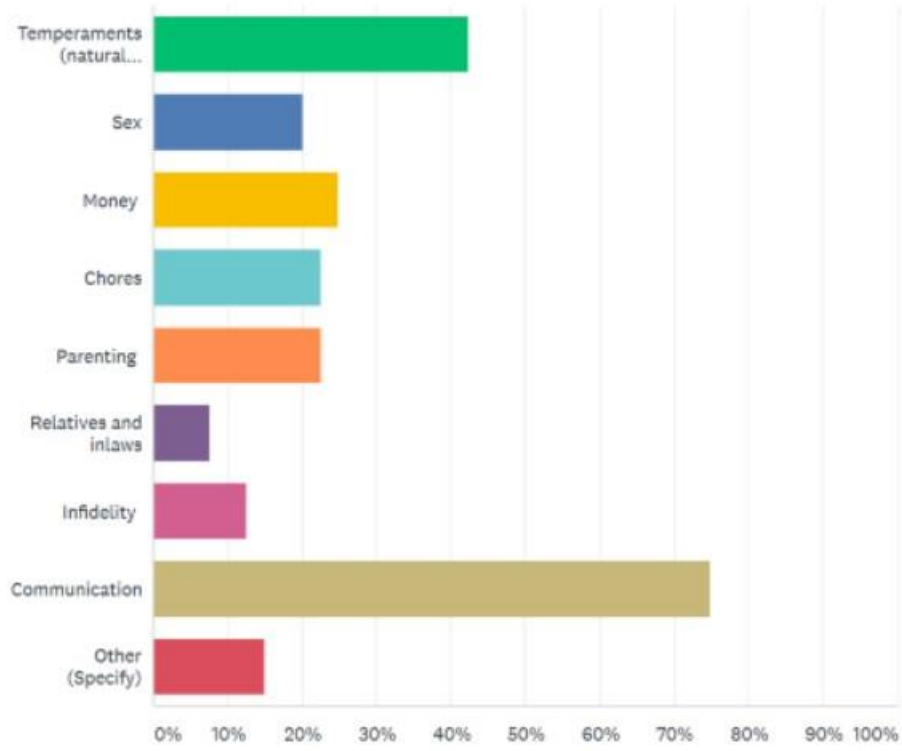
   - Well done. We encourage those not yet formally married to make corrections soonest – talk to your Pastors for assistance on the process and the help we can give you.

2. **How long have you been married or if not married officially, how long have you been living with your spouse?**



   - The results are from couples that are various stages of their marriage.

3. Select the top 3 triggers of conflict in your marriage



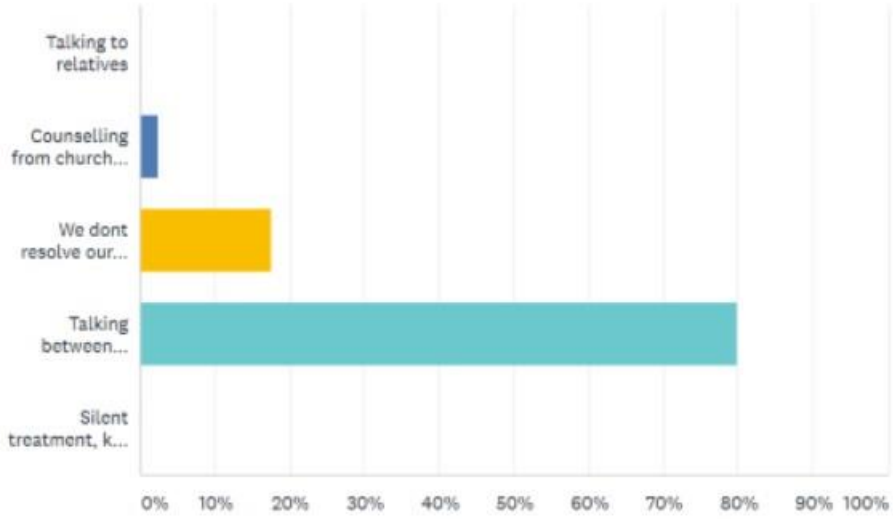
The top 3 triggers:

1. Communication
2. Temperaments
3. Money

Following closely are Parenting, chores and sex

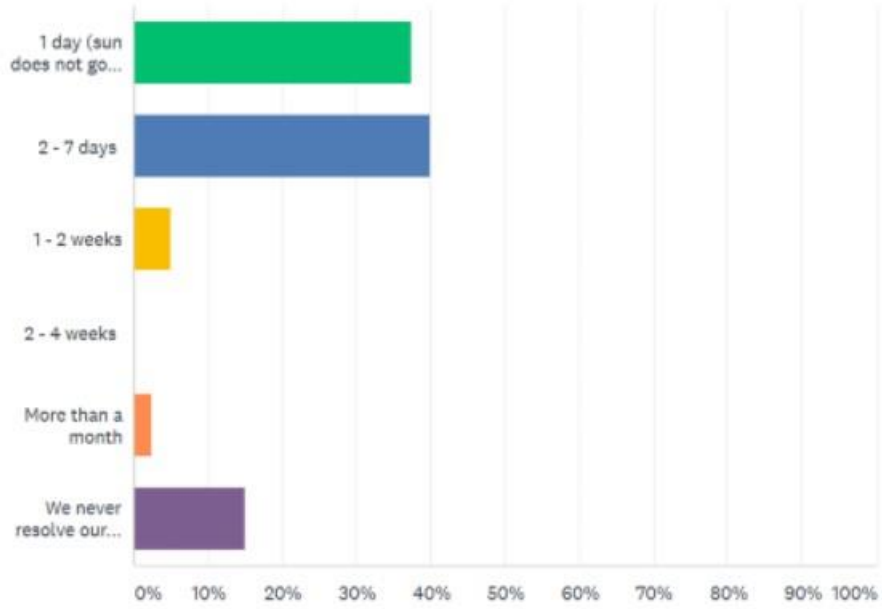
It is concerning however that we have cases of infidelity in our church. This is not expected for believers

4. **How do you usually resolve your conflicts?**



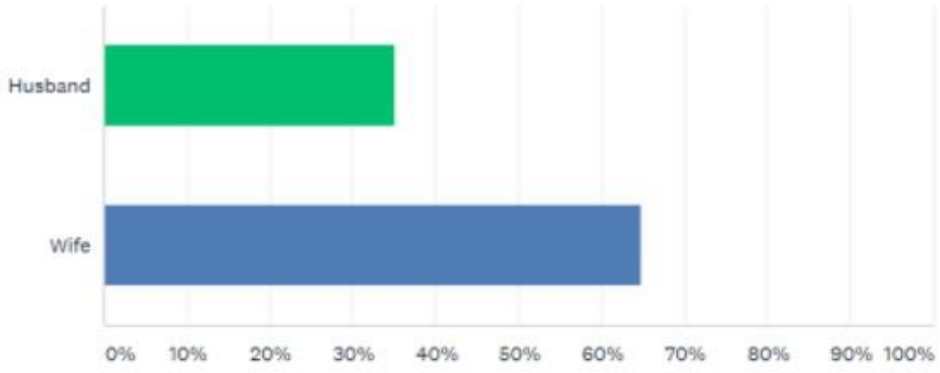
- The survey shows that most couples resolve couples between themselves without any 3rd party involvement. It points to people that have matured in conflict resolution.
- There is a lot of couples that have unresolved conflict – this is a recipe for couples that hate each other, have unforgiveness issues and these marriages are in the red zone. We encourage this group to seek help immediately.

5. **How long do you normally take to resolve your conflicts with your spouse?**



- This again points to most couples that know how to resolve their conflict as most resolve within a week which is excellent.
- Those who resolve in more than a month, or never resolve need immediate help.

6. **Lastly, identify yourself?**



This shows that more wives responded than men – wives are more engaged than husbands.

Appendix 3: Email Conversation with Otter.ai

WITS UNIVERSITY

Managing and deleting uploaded Data

Admire Thonje Otter.ai Support <support@otter.ai>
18 March 2021 at 02:40

Reply-To: "Otter.ai Support" <support@otter.ai>

To: Admire Thonje <1492239@students.wits.ac.za> Cc: [redacted]@wits.ac.za>

##- Please type your reply above this line -##

Your support request (ticket 55364) has been updated. To add additional comments, simply reply to this email.

Jenna Dittmar (Otter.ai)

Mar 17, 2021, 5:40 PM PDT

Hi Admire,

Thank you for contacting Otter.ai!

Security at Otter is extremely important to us. You trust Otter to keep your data secure, and responsible custodianship of your data is one of our core values.

Otter files at rest are encrypted using 256-bit Advanced Encryption Standard (AES). We use Secure Sockets Layer (SSL)/Transport Layer Security (TLS) to protect data in transit between Otter apps and our

servers located in North America. SSL/TSL creates a secure tunnel protected by 128-bit or higher AES encryption.

We do not sell or share your data with third parties, nor access your data without your explicit permission. You also have full control to delete your conversations. Deleting a conversation permanently deletes it from Otter's servers, and can't be undone.

- See our Security Whitepaper
    - Certifications
        - SOC 2 Type 1 certified
        - SOC 2 Type 2 (targeting a completion date of later summer 2021)
- See our Terms of Service to review our contract with you and our security practices.
    - DPA
- We have been closely following the outcome of Schrems II and the regulator statements that have followed. We can assure you that we are taking this seriously. We are currently in the process of analyzing and assessing the different options that are available to us and our customers to allow information to continue to be transferred to the US. We will be in touch shortly with our proposed solution.
- See our Privacy Policy for more information on the information we collect and how it may be used.
- See our California Resident Privacy Notice for information to individuals residing in California and compliance with the California Consumer Privacy Act (CCPA). See a list of subprocessors with access to certain customer data.

Cheers and happy Ottering, Jenna Dittmar | Otter.ai Support

Mar 15, 2021, 11:40 PM PDT [redacted]

Hello I am concerned about this specific research that affects a protected category of personal information ie religion. Would it be possible to remove the data at this point and only process the transcriptions, then send and remove them . Also we would like the details of the processing so that the researcher can give these to the respondent in the consent feedback. They will also need to make the details clear in their methodology . Finally we will need to cite your software . Can you give us a preferred citation ? Is there a paper associated with your methods

From: From: Admire Thonje <1492239@students.wits.ac.za>

Sent: Sent: Tuesday, 16 March 2021 08:29

To: To: support@otter.ai

Cc: C[redacted] @wits.ac.za> **Subject:** Subject: Managing and deleting uploaded Data

May I kindly request that the data which I have uploaded on the Otter.ai platform be removed from the Ottar.ai servers as well

Appendix 4: Church Declarations

2019-20	2020-21
End time revival	The glory, the presence and anointing of the Holy Spirit
Apostolic anointing	Leadership in trying times
Understanding loyalty and disloyalty	Power of vision
Understanding the end time principles of fathering and sonship	Grace of God
Church growth principles	Loyalty and disloyalty
Breaking the grip of poverty and barrenness in our times	Financial empowerment